# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-091
Thursday
10 May 1990

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*FBIS-EEU-90-091* *10 May 1990*

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## Myftiu Outlines Changes in Penal Code

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["On the Improvement and Democratization of Penal Legislation as Well as on Some Organizational Measures—Report Submitted by Comrade Manush Myftiu, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers, on behalf of the Council of Ministers"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 9 (ATA)—The 9th and 10th plenums of the Party Central Committee reflect the beginning of a new stage, when the task of further promoting democracy, as the natural road of the development of our society, is on the agenda.

On our road we have come across many difficulties and hindrances, but we have carried out radical transformations and have scored great achievements in the political, economic, and social fields.

With us, the problems and tasks set from time to time, and our achievements are regularly expressed through laws. Our legislation of all levels has responded to the development of society and requirements of time. As a whole, it is a progressive contemporary legislation and on its basis the juridical relations in the field of labor, family, the civil and penal law, as well as other fields are regulated. The main characteristic of our laws is that they not only formally proclaim the rights of collectives and individuals, but also create conditions to really apply them.

Observation of legislation and defense of human rights have always been in the focus of the attention of the state organs and our party. Laws have always expressed the interests of the people. But it is our constant duty to enhance the care for human rights, so that the relation between the state and citizens, society and the individual, respond to the current stage of material, cultural and social development of the country and the demands of the present stage.

All the processes that are taking place in our society, the transformations and achievements in every field, make indispensable not only the improvement of material conditions, but also of the legislation, intended to defend the personality of every member of our society as well as possible. To an advanced socialist society should correspond a citizen emancipated to the highest possible degree. Moreover, there exists a mutual connection in this sphere. There is a prerequisite for the non-stop development of the society, which on its part, gives an impulse to enlarging and promoting democracy.

It has always been our intention and still is to improve the socialist society in general and the legislation in every sphere of relations in particular.

Actually, our party is engaged in an intensive activity to strengthen the economy and increase production, which is of first-rate importance for the progress of society. But every progress requires the continuous improvement of the state order. Precisely to this end the 9th plenum of the Party Central Committee set as an imperative duty to make amendments in the field of legislation. The main idea is the further promotion of the democratization of the whole country's life. These changes have to do with the improvement and democratization of penal legislation, as well as with the necessary organizational measures such as the creation of the Ministry of Justice, Advocacy, etc.

Accordingly, the Council of Ministers adopted measures to prepare the respective draft-laws, which were subjected to discussion in several districts of the country. In principle, these measures were also endorsed by the 10th plenum of the Party Central Committee and now are forwarded to the People's Assembly for discussion and final approval.

Relying on the several years experience in the struggle to protect the socialist social order and the rights and freedoms of citizens, the Council of Ministers has worked out the draft law "On Some Changes to the Penal Code," which deal with the following problems:

**The establishment of rehabilitation institution or abolition of the penal sanctions.**

Our society is interested that those persons, who in the past have been sentenced for penal offenses, be re-educated and become worthy citizens. The rehabilitation institution complies with our lofty human principles, that people can be corrected. After all, the penal sanction itself aims at educating the offender. This is also the aim of the educational work of the society with the convicts.

The practice of our country shows that the educational role of society has been very effective and most of the persons who have undergone punishment, have been recuperated and now work and behave well in society. In this way, social rehabilitation has been translated into practice. But the Penal Code in force does not foresee the legal rehabilitation for those who have committed penal offenses.

In order to combine social rehabilitation with the legal one, it is foreseen that the Penal Code should include rehabilitation by law and by court. Rehabilitation by law means avoiding punishment by law itself, automatically, when after undergoing punishment on provision or privation of freedom up to 5 years, according to respective length of the period of detention, the convict has not committed any other penal offense. Rehabilitation by court means avoiding punishment by trial, upon the request of the state organ and mass organizations. This institution is applied to persons sentenced to privation of freedom for more than 5 years, depending on the time that should have elapsed after undergoing punishment, under the condition that during this time these persons have committed no other penal offense and through their behavior show that they abide by the rules and laws of society. Establishment of rehabilitation institution in the Penal Code, dictated by the democratic and human content of our socialist order, is an important measure to

improve and further democratize our legislation, according to which the rehabilitated, either legally or de facto, will fully enjoy, just as the other citizens, the rights granted by the Constitution and laws in force.

With regard to the rehabilitation institution the draft law envisages also the institution of the prescription of the prosecution and the execution of sentences, which is the abolition or suspension of the prosecution for a penal offense, or the execution of the sentence when the legal terms are overpassed, not only for penal offenses, as it is at present, but for the crimes as well. With the establishment of prescription it is accepted that the person who has committed a penal offense does no longer present any threat to society and there is no need to prosecute or sentence him. This is a logical and human solution.

The prescription envisages terms from 5-20 years, according to the level of social threat the penal offense represents. These terms double should the author of the penal offense have circumvented the prosecution, but in no case should they be over 25 years. For crimes against the state, which presupose the death penalty, there will be no prescription either of the prosecution or the execution of the sentence.

Another aspect of the further improvement of our penal legislation is the establishment of the institution of pre-term release on provision.

The pre-term release on provision is granted when the convict is corrected and educated, and this is reflected in his behavior and work while under detention. The convict should have completed no less than half of the sentence so as to be granted the pre-term release on provision.

The pre-term release on provision is envisaged by the Penal Code because an organized educational work is done with the convicts in the detention institutions so as to make them again worthy members of society. This institution creates new possibilities for the further democratization of the penal policy and the implementation of the mass line, because the social organizations, too, along with the state organs, have the right to propose this measure in favor of the convict.

**Limitation of the cases of the application of the death penalty**

At present, the Penal Code envisages 34 cases of the death penalty in application of the death penalty. As a rule, it is applied exclusively to crimes posing a major threat to society.

Although the death penalty is formally envisaged in the Penal Code, for many crimes it has not been applied over many years. Besides this, in 11 articles, the death penalty is envisaged for crimes committed in time of war or state of emergency, thus artificially extending the penal code, which is applied in normal conditions of the country's life. Therefore, the death penalty, as an extraordinary measure, is limited to only very serious crimes such as betrayal of the homeland and espionage, terroristic and sabotage activities, embezzlement of socialist property in special conditions, plundering of socialist and individual property, and qualified murder. Therefore, this kind of punishment is limited to 11 cases.

Of special importance is the proposal that the death penalty should be lifted not only in the case of pregnant women, as in the past, but also women in general, which is another manifestation of socialist humanism characterizing our state order.

The amendment of the provisions on the crimes against the state occupies a special place in the forwarded draft-law. These crimes pose a serious threat to society. Here are included also the penal offenses of defection, and agitation and propaganda against the state. Since the practice so far has proved that most of those involved in flight attempts were immature and generally not prompted by political and counterrevolutionary motives, it has been envisaged that defection, which still remains an offense, should be not considered as betrayal of the homeland but as an illegal border trespassing.

We inform the People's Assembly that the Council of Ministers has worked out a draft-law which is complementary to the existing decree on passports, according to which on request, any Albanian national will have the right to be given a passport for travelling abroad.

The creation of the foreign or joint companies and other economic and financial institutions with the foreign monopolies or states, as well as receiving credits from them is abrogated as a form of a betrayal of the homeland, because it is not indispensable that any prohibition envisaged from the Penal Code of the Constitution, should be sanctioned in the Penal Code. In the future, too, we shall not accept credits or sign various economic agreements under political conditions infringing our national sovereignty. If an employee of a state organ carries out acts which run counter to the above norms, he will be responsible before the law for misuse of his post. Therefore, the abrogation of this form of betrayal from the Penal Code is completely justified.

Among the crimes against the state, for which changes are proposed in the Penal Code, is also the crime of agitation and propaganda. Today the Penal Code foresees the punishment for fascist, anti-democratic, religious, warmongering, and anti-socialist agitation and propaganda. The formulation of the crime of agitation and propaganda is very broad leaving a loophole for various subjective interpretations, which practically might bring about undesirable consequences, because even persons who are not such might be described and condemned as enemies. The party and government have always taken care that the citizens be defended from the arbitrary interpretations and actions of any organ. Therefore in the draft law, agitation and propaganda against the state is reformulated and defined more

clearly, considering as a crime only those acts of oral, written, or other forms of agitation and propaganda, aimed at overthrowing the social and state order established by the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, whereas fascist and warmongering propaganda remain a crime against the state and are envisaged in a special paragraph.

With this formulation the new draft of the Penal Code on agitation and propaganda avoids the danger of subjectivism and interpretations that might lead to the violation of legislation and the democratic rights and liberties of citizens sanctioned by constitution, ensuring simultaneously the defense of the state's interests.

Narrowing the definition of the agitation and propaganda against the state as above-mentioned, amongst others, the punishment foreseen for religious propaganda is lifted. This is in conformity with practice because such acts have never been penally prosecuted until now. In our country the state is separated from religion and the question of religious belief is a matter of conscience of every individual. The lifting from the Penal Code of sanctions for religious propaganda does not mean that we are giving up atheist propaganda in our all-round educational work with the masses of the people. We are unflinchingly convinced that this contributes to the consolidation of patriotism and national consciousness, that the interest of the nation and the homeland has been and is above any religious distinction. Our great patriots of the Renaissance, with their unique historical saying, regarding the relationship between religion and the homeland that "The faith of the Albanian is the love for Albania," have left us a heritage of great permanent value for the present, too. Our party and state will continue to follow in the future, too, our patriotic and revolutionary traditions, so that the question of the defense of freedom, independence, sovereignty, and unity of the people should be always above any religious belief.

Internment and deportation as administrative measures have been established in our country under certain historical circumstances, and for that time they have helped to safeguard and strengthen the socialist social order. But under the current circumstances, with the general development of our social and state order, with the changes aimed at strengthening the legislation and defending the citizens' interests, it is no longer justified to maintain and apply the decree on internment and deportation as administrative measures. Another reason for lifting this decree is that under it, unlike the whole of our legislation, state coercive measures are not applied against an act against the law, involving individual responsibility and personal guilt. Besides, this decree runs counter to the changes introduced to our legislation, including the extension of the legal defense under investigation and during the court proceedings.

The invalidation of this decree will not create any legal vacuum, because now internment and deportation are foreseen as penal sanctions, issued by the court for certain penal offenses. Besides, a draft-law "On Preventive Measures Against Persons Posing a Threat to Social Security," which covers part of the measures previously included in the law on internment and deportation as administrative measures, will be forwarded for examination and approval to the People's Assembly.

Preventive measures are adopted against persons conducting activities, which although not constituting penal offenses, run counter to public morality and social ethics, against persons with criminal predispositions who commit penal offenses, who live fully of partially on unlawful profits, prostitution, corruption of children, or large-scale gambling, and who refuse to be employed in socially useful work, or take part in criminal groups or associations.

These measures are liable to be taken toward persons having completed 18 years of age.

These preventive measures will be given only by the court, on the basis of a regular and speedy procedure, providing to the convict the presence of barrister and the right of complaint.

The 9th and 10th plenum of the Party Central Committee adopted decisions also on the improvement of the organs of justice and the guaranteeing of the legal defense of the citizens.

In order to strengthen socialist legality, assistance to, and control of the courts of the zones and the districts, to ensure the improvement of the quality of their juridical activity and to carry out a more qualified and systematic work for the continuous improvement of legislation, the draft-law for the creation of the Ministry of Justice has been worked out. Through it the Council of Ministers will have the possibility to better follow the problems of justice and a series of other problems having to do with the juridical relations in our country.

The draft-law on the creation of the Ministry of Justice has been worked out in full compliance with the content of the norms of the Constitution, sanctioning the independence of the courts in judging the cases. This Ministry will take care of the organization and functioning of the courts and guide and control the activity of the administration of justice, without interfering with the judicial proceedings. It is envisaged that the minister of justice, for the purpose of the consolidation of the socialist legality and in the interest of citizens, should have the right of objecting for the sake of defending legality, to individual decisions of the courts and forums of the districts and of the zones, which is a right that does not violate the principle of the independence of the courts.

Besides the above mentioned competences, the Ministry of Justice will take care also for the organization and functioning of advocacy, executor's and notary offices, as well as elaborate draft-codes, draft laws, etc., related to the organization and activity of courts, offering at the same time its opinion on all the drafts of juridical acts

prepared by the ministries and other central institutions before being forwarded for examination to the Council of Ministers.

It will also be in the competence of the Ministry of Justice to coordinate the work for the training of lawyers of various instances, to coordinate the activity in publicizing laws, running the criminalistic and legal medicine service, etc.

Up to now, according to the provisions in force, the protection of the legal interests of citizens, the state, and social organizations is realized through the juridical assistance offices, which have ensured, in cases envisaged by the law, also the defense of the defendant at court. But the re-establishment of advocacy is an important measure, which broadens the defense of citizens' rights and contributes to the strengthening of legality. Advocacy will not only render juridical help to citizens, state organs, and social organizations for the defense of their legitimate interests at court, under investigation and arbitration, but will also influence in fulfillment of justice. The measures envisaged in the draft law will contribute to the fuller and more effective implementation of article 102 of the Constitution, according to which the defendant enjoys the right to have an advocate, because the citizens will now be guaranteed qualified assistance in both civil and penal cases, whenever they demand it. Moreover, this assistance assumes a more complete content, being extended for the first time also to investigation, something which marks a new phase in the democratization of the penal process in our country.

Besides the defense of the legitimate rights and interests of the defendant and of the parties to the investigation and legal process, advocacy will also ensure all kinds of juridical assistance, such as the formulation of indictment, the requests of penal prosecution, claims toward the administrative organs, etc.

In carrying out these tasks it is envisaged that advocacy should be organized in special orders as voluntary associations. The aim is to create suitable conditions to the advocates in order to fulfill their tasks properly, ensuring independence and objectiveness in their activity.

In the context of simplifying the organs of justice it is envisaged that the courts of villages, cities, and city quarters, which have so far examined penal offenses and passed sentences for them, having in this way an official character, should be abrogated from the judicial system.

Their abrogation is justified also by the fact that judgment by them of penal, civil, and administrative cases has been of little effect. According to the draft law, they are converted into organs of a social or unofficial character, social courts which will operate at the people's councils and will be elected by open votes by the people every 3 years. They will be comprised of social activists who enjoy authority and confidence among the people. These social courts will cooperate closely with the social organizations and exercise a powerful influence on the strengthening of the people's unity, solving through conciliation the conflicts on complaint such as insult, beatings etc., without enforcing penal sanctions. As far as the administrative violations are concerned, it is envisaged that they should be dealt with by special organs (police, inspectorate, etc.).

The said amendments, envisaged in the draft-laws on the creation of the Ministry of Justice, advocacy, and social courts, call for the respective amendments and completions in the codes of penal and civil procedure, which are also forwarded to the Assembly for approval.

The measures proposed for the improvement and democratization of our legislation and for the better functioning of the organs of justice do not mean at all demobilization or slackening of vigilance in face of the enemies of the people's state power, evil doers of any kind, all those who dream to overthrow our socialist order. On the contrary, these measures are another stone on the foundations of our state and social order. They are intended to consolidate it in the struggle against the anti-state and anti-social activity, as well as against any bureaucratic distortion.

The decisions of this Assembly, in the course of the concrete realization of the directives of the 9th and 10th plenum of the Party Central Committee, will be another step toward the strengthening of socialist democracy, which is a constant requirement of our society. On this road the decisions of these plenums will in the future, too, be a platform for the further promotion of the process of democratization and improvement of legislation in all the fields of life.

As Comrade Ramiz Alia said in the speech he delivered to the 10th plenum of the Party Central Committee, our society has all the possibilities for progress. We are faced with a great program of work, with urgent problems and tasks in every field. We will cope with them with courage and optimism, full of confidence and commitment, and with the profound belief that on this road the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of socialist Albania will be safeguarded and consolidated and the present and better future of our people and homeland ensured.

## People's Assembly Session Concludes

*AU0905144790 Tirana ATA in English 0804 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Tirana, May 8 (ATA)—The People's Assembly continued its proceeding today before noon at 9.00 hours.

In this sitting began the detailed examination and approval of the draft laws related to the improvement of economic mechanism. In this sitting the deputies raised many questions, suggestions, and discussions in a democratic spirit.

It started with the draft law "On the Enterprise," as the main document in this field. After the approval in

principle there were made concrete suggestions and remarks according to the articles. The deputies brought to the Assembly the opinions and proposals of the electors and those raised in the permanent commissions of the People's Assembly.

Suggestions and remarks were made also on the draft laws concerning the state budget, on the obligatory insurance of state property, on the new role of the State Bank and Agricultural Bank in the conditions of independent account management as well as on some partial amendments of the laws and decrees in power.

For all the draft laws, the deputies made also some remarks and suggestions of editorial nature, which were taken into consideration.

The deputies approved unanimously in principle, article per article, and on the whole the aforesaid draft laws.

At the afternoon sitting of May 8, contributions to the report of the Council of Ministers "On the Improvement of Democratization of the Penal Legislation As Well As Some Organizational Measures" began.

Then the Assembly passed on the examination and approval of draft laws, which were approved by the deputies. Likewise, the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly were approved.

Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly read out the letter, Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers addressed to the People's Assembly related to some changes in the make up of the government. Enver Halili be released from the duty of minister, secretary general of the Council of Ministers, and be appointed Minister of Justice. Niko Gjyzari be released from the duty of the chairman of the State Planning Commission and be appointed minister, secretary general of the Council of Ministers. Bujar Kolaneci, first secretary of the Elbasan District Party Committee be appointed chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Then, Comrade Rita Marko, vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly proposed the following changes to the make up of the High Court: Aranit Cela is released from the duty of the chairman of the High Court because he retires. Kleanthi Koco, deputy-chairman of the High Court is appointed chairman of the High Court and Fehmi Abdiu, member of the High Court and chairman of the People's Court of Tirana District is appointed vice-chairman of the High Court.

The deputies approved the changes in the make up of the government and of the High Court according to the forwarded proposals.

Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly made the closing speech.

At this the 7th session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly successfully ended.

### Government Raises Wages, Makes Economic Moves

*AU0905173590 Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 9 May 90*

["Council of Ministers Decisions"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers met to consider the allocation of budgetary funds for the logistical preparations and for subsidizing political parties in the conduct of Grand National Assembly elections. The Government also discussed the progress of the economic reform in this country.

Under the Grand National Assembly Election Act, expenses on the logistical preparations for the conduct of elections shall be borne by the state. In pursuance of this provision, the Council of Ministers made a budgetary allocation of 5.7 million leva.

Under the Political Parties Act, the state may subsidize political parties in the conduct of elections. Mindful of the historic significance of the forthcoming free and democratic elections, the Government allocates 6 million leva to this end and suggests that the political parties reach agreement on the procedure and the terms of their distribution.

The Council of Ministers decided to raise the minimum monthly wage from 140 leva to 165 leva as from July 1, 1990.

The Government considered the need to re-equip civil aviation. The Balkan Bulgarian Airlines must replenish and renew the composition of its fleet by economic and comfortable aircraft. Western-made airliners will be acquired, too.

It was decided to introduce export and import regulations for some foreign economic deals and activities and customs regulations for the export and import of goods by natural and juristic persons. The customs duty on imported cars will be levied in Bulgarian leva and not in foreign currency.

### Lukanov Surveys Economic Situation

*AU0905203590 Sofia BTA in English 2002 GMT 9 May 90*

["Bulgaria Wins Convertible Currency and Discovers Oil"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (BTA)—The balance of current payments in convertible currency in the first half of the year has significantly been improved as a result of the restrictions on imports by economic measures.

This was said by Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, who specified that Bulgaria's deficit was restricted to 150 million dollars, a threefold drop compared to the analogous quality of half a million dollars for the first four months of last year.

We are hoping that our Western partners will assess the merits of our real changes in the government currency and finance policy, the prime minister said and stressed that there are no grounds for fears of economic destabilization as a result of the restrictions.

Fears about the solvency of the Bulgarian companies are groundless either. They are paying and will continue to pay duly their duties in convertible currency, Andrey Lukanov said in reply to a question about the "problems in the Bulgaro-Finnish economic relations." He expressed conviction that economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Finland, as well as with her other traditional partners will continue to develop as usual.

Things are, however different, as far as Bulgaria's export of nonferrous metals goes, which perhaps will be limited after the closure of lead and zinc production of the large plant near Plovdiv. It has not been decided so far on when this production will be stopped, but it will be done sooner or later, Mr Lukanov said answering a question of the CTK correspondent on what will happen with nonferrous metals which Bulgaria is exporting to Czechoslovakia in large quantities. The prime minister elaborated that there are nevertheless agreements about continuing of contacts for a mutually advantageous resolution of this issue.

Bulgaria is negotiating actively with leading Western companies about offering of concessions for oil prospecting in the northern parts of the continental shelf of the Black Sea countries, Andrey Lukanov said. There are promising prospects about the recently found in northern Bulgaria oil find which gives petrol suitable for industrial use, but its quality will be specified after further drilling.

The main efforts are directed towards stabilizing of the home market and the preparation of elections. Forthcoming are some restrictions on the export of alimentary goods, children's foods and other deficiencies on the home market, Lukanov said. He dwelled in detail about the decision to increase the minimum salary, on the preparation of the "indexing" which aims to protect the real incomes by their periodical correction, in proportion to the expected upsurge of "liberalized" prices, etc.

### Opposition Warns of 500,000 Unemployed

*AU1005073590 Sofia BTA in English 2058 GMT 9 May 90*

["The SDS (Union of Democratic Forces—UDF) Stands for 'Judicious Revolution'—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (BTA)—The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces—UDF] is ready to take the helm of the country. It is already influencing changes though they are marking a slow pace of development. The SDS victory in parliamentary elections after a month is a guarantee that a push back is not possible, as it was said today at a meeting between the oppositional economic experts and the country's scientific and technical intelligentsia.

Experts declared themselves "for a judicious revolution," the SDS is striving towards "nothing else but a normal society." They declared themselves against "the economic demagogy" of the ruling party and warned that no matter what happened after the elections, the situation in the country cannot deteriorate.

The Bulgarian people cannot be promised prosperity, it is not possible to keep unemployment under 500,000 by the end of the year, the present structure of the economy should not any longer be maintained, these are the economic realities according to the oppositional experts. They stressed that people should not any longer be slaves to policy and ideology. The transition to a market economy was called inevitable. "With a 200 million currency reserve Bulgaria has no other choice." The first condition for the change is to do away with the state monopoly in the economy.

The SDS experts proposed a radical reconsideration of this year's budget and liberalization not only of prices, but also of incomes.

Criticism was addressed at the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] pre-election platform which promises "free non-inflation prices," avoids the problem about the land ownership, ascribes unemployment to the SDS, does not give the vital private sector its due, defends the piecework organization—"a feudal type of economic relations," and uses economic euphemisms and demagogy.

## Construction Industry Minister Forecasts Changes

*AU0905142590 Sofia BTA in English 1045 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (BTA)—About 60,000 workers and specialists in the construction industry will become redundant this year because capital investments in industrial projects are going to be cut down by half. But most of these people will not be left jobless, because they will be re-appointed to jobs in the construction of housing, hospitals and schools, says Ivan Krustev, minister of construction, architecture and development, in today's TRUD.

He announces that about 13,000 construction workers and specialists working on different building sites in the Soviet Union are expected to return to Bulgaria by the end of this year.

Minister Krustev is for a step-by-step transition to a market economy regulated to a certain extent by the state. "Pricing should be realistic and based on the actually existing prices of building materials and transport, which will help us get free from fictitiousness and the mutual deception about things reported but never made," he says.

According to the minister the only way to improve the quality of construction is competition and the establishment of a construction market.

For years on end construction and its extremely poor quality have been the greatest disadvantage of the Bulgarian red-tape economy.

## Industry Minister Outlines Anticrisis Measures

*AU0905150190 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 3 May 90 pp 1,3*

[Interview with Industry and Technology Minister Krustyu Stanilov Mariya Koleva; place and date not given: "Way Out of the Labyrinth of the Crisis"]

[Excerpts] [Koleva] Comrade minister, what measures will the ministry take to solve the crisis?

[Stanilov] One cannot give a single answer to this question. By and large, we have defined our tasks in the government's program for emerging from the economic crisis and developing the economic reform. The ministry is conducting a firm policy of reducing budget subsidies to loss-making and unprofitable types of production and activities. We are also carrying out a comprehensive economic assessment of companies that manufacture poor-quality products and articles for which there is no demand. The budget financing of capital investments in material production has been sharply cut for 1990. Together with the Ministry of Construction, Architecture, and Amenities, we are making a review of investment projects in industry and are bringing capital construction into line with the real building capacities and resource possibilities. The construction of a number of inefficient projects has already been halted.

We are mainly directing our attention toward creating conditions for companies and economic leaders to develop their initiative. We maintain continuous contacts with them, support them, and I am already able to state that positive trends are appearing, now that the documents adopted by the government and the National Assembly are coming into effect.

One major problem—namely, the provision of convertible currency for the normal functioning of production—has been covered by sound legislative measures. Equal opportunities for entering the world market are granted to all who engage in economic activity, irrespective of the forms of ownership or management, while strictly observing the demands of fair competition. An opportunity has also been created for using the trading banks to finance all the activities of the companies. All this is creating a new climate in economic activity. [passage omitted]

[Koleva] Wide support is being given to the idea of a fast changeover to a market economy, but how will market relations develop in practice?

[Stanilov] Even before, a considerable proportion of our industrial output was sold on international markets in conditions of competition, so that our economic cadres are not unfamiliar with market mechanisms. The main thing that is already changing is the method of trading

with the CEMA member countries, and most of all with the Soviet Union. From the beginning of 1991, the trade exchange with these countries will be conducted on a clearing basis and calculated in convertible currency at current world prices.

The ministry is taking the necessary action to assist Bulgarian companies in carrying out this difficult transition. In some countries, a start has already been made on setting up a company trading and service network. Regarding the domestic market, we are changing over totally from the allocation of industrial equipment and technologies to a market in this sphere. As is known, the proportion of goods and services supplied at negotiated prices has substantially increased.

[Koleva] What social conflicts are arising in the system, and what are the views regarding their settlement?

[Stanilov] The social conflicts that have occurred in individual enterprises and companies have mainly arisen because of lengthy delays in settling a number of problems connected with working conditions and job regrading. The government commission that has been set up is examining all proposals with a view to solving each problem in turn and introducing the new legal regulations by 30 June 1990.

In some companies and enterprises, disputes have arisen concerning labor organization and wages. This has created tensions in the mutual relations between the labor collectives and the managements of the companies, enterprises, and workshops. These disputes were considered and resolved by the managements in a timely way, and the ministry also assisted where necessary in settling them.

The adoption of the Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes has created conditions for normalizing relations and for establishing more effective interrelations between the economic managements and the different trade union organizations.

## Lukanov Meets Industrial Pollution Protesters

*AU1005083090 Sofia BTA in English 0734 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Yesterday a market for lead [as received] lettuces, radishes, green onions and cherries from the region of the Nonferrous Metals Combined Works "Dimitur Blagoev" near Plovdiv was organized before the Council of Ministers building. This was in relation with the expiration of the term (April 30) after which the government had to give its standpoint about the future fate of this combined works which pollutes the environment in the Thracian field between the cities of Plovdiv and Asenovgrad.

The protesters raised slogans with "Mr. President, Stop the Nonferrous Metals Combined Works," "Bulgaria, As Small As a Human Palm, Is Poisoned After a Plan," "Come Here, People, for Fresh Lead Vegetables. Price: 0.00." There were also red banners.

Data about lead and cadmium found in 146 children after medical tests began were published on a large poster.

When voices began to be heard that "those from the above are afraid to show and that the premier enters and leaves from the back entrance of the Council of Ministers." Andrey Lukanov showed up and tried to calm down spirits with the opinion that the works has to be closed down. The only thing is that terms should be specified, he said. We will discuss the proposal to cut down these terms [deadlines] and on Saturday, May 12 we will talk again, Andrey Lukanov said.

## Defense Ministry Denounces Student Federation

*AU0905200990 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 May 90 p 1*

["Letter from Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, Ministry of National Defense spokesman, to the Federation of Independent Students' Associations" in Sofia; date not given]

[Text] Gentlemen, in Issue No. 49 of the daily DEMOKRATSIYA that appeared on 19 April 1990, you published an appeal of the Federation of Independent Students' Associations [FISA] to all national servicemen, to their parents and families, urging them to report all cases of abuse in the Army, of physical or psychological violence against soldiers that has come to their attention, to the Federation. You evidently consider this appeal as your final contribution to the total elimination of such acts, being convinced that it is sufficient to disseminate them in the mass media.

The Ministry of National Defense expresses its perplexity at this strange self-initiative. One thing is evident: The Federation is trying to establish itself as the only institution in charge of collecting information on negative phenomena in Army life. The appeal does not even mention the purpose that this information is intended to serve.

The National Defense Ministry leadership has devoted and will further devote great care to rallying all efforts for the purpose of overcoming abuses in mutual relations between national servicemen and for eliminating other shortcomings that occur in connection with Army service. This stand was most categorically confirmed by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, in his message to soldiers' mothers from Stara Zagora that was broadcast by the Bulgarian Television on 14 April 1990.

For this reason, the Ministry of National Defense considers the FISA appeal a gross interference in the work of the ministry's leadership, in the affairs of commanders, superiors, and officers in charge of educational work, whom the National Assembly, the government, and the country's president have entrusted with the task of training and educating the Bulgarian People's Army personnel. We are convinced that this act pursues specific political goals—

namely to undermine the Army collectives' moral-psychological unity, to introduce unrest among our public, to discredit the Bulgarian People's Army, and to divert the attention of Army personnel from its specific operational tasks related to the motherland's defense. This act is evidently in contradiction to the aspirations of the people's majority in our country, the Bulgarian People's Army personnel included, who are striving for a peaceful and civilized transition to a democratic and humane society in Bulgaria. The FISA should realize that democracy and glasnost do not mean uncontrolled interference in Army affairs. Everyone should be well aware of the fact that the road to confrontation with the Army and all efforts to disgrace it have no future and are utterly doomed to failure.

The leadership of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Army as a whole represent a stabilizing factor in the country's innovative processes, and our people, in their overwhelming majority, share this opinion.

Last but not least, we would like to remind the gentlemen from FISA that, according to the laws of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and according to the regulations of the Bulgarian People's Army, the National Assembly, the president, and the government are the only institutions authorized to exercise control and to interfere in the activities of our Armed Forces. The sons of our people have responded to the call of serving in the ranks of the People's Army, where they are ready to accomplish their highly patriotic task of defending our country's territorial integrity and our people's peaceful labor. The only authorities that our soldiers are expected to obey are the Constitution, the government, and their commanders. As far as public control is concerned, we have nothing against it as long as it remains impartial and objective, as long as it contributes to the consolidation of the Army's unity, and to improving the combat readiness of our troops. If you have any constructive ideas for the practical elimination of the aforementioned negative phenomena, we are ready to accept them, but we will most resolutely object if the information you are collecting should serve corrupt, political goals.

### Muslim Leader Denies MILLIYET Report

*AU0905142790 Sofia BTA in English 0927 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (BTA)—Akhmed Dogan, leader of the Bulgarian Turks and of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, categorically distances himself from the statements he is said to have made by the Turkish paper MILLIYET of April 30.

Interviewed by OTECHESTVEN FRONT, Mr. Dogan stated, "I'm bound to distance myself and even to make an official refutation. I have never expressed a position in a similar hard tone and I am ready to make an official refutation."

According to Mr. Dogan the Turkish journalist has made use of an informal conversation which was not tape-recorded, exaggerating later on the things he was told. "There is a discrepancy between what he wrote on the one hand and my own position and the position of the Rights and Freedoms Movement on the other. Certain ideas and allusions in the text of the interview are alien to us," he said.

Akhmed Dogan, one of the most popular figures in the country and in most probability a national representative in the future Grand National Assembly, defined as ridiculous the statements ascribed to him by the Turkish paper that a military discipline is enforced in the organization of the Bulgarian Turks,—the Rights and Freedoms Movement, and that the Bulgarian Turks are getting ready for the elections "as soldiers."

In the statement made for OTECHESTVEN FRONT the leader of the Bulgarian Turks pointed out that the Rights and Freedoms Movement would run in the elections with its own ticket. "We have nominated as candidates honest and competent people irrespective of their ethnic origin. There are many of our Bulgarian brothers among the candidates. Our platform is comprehensive, universal; it is based on the International Charter of Human Rights, the Vienna accords and, first of all, on the Bulgarian Constitution," Mr. Dogan said.

Asked about the attitude of the Rights and Freedoms Movement towards the Union of Democratic Forces, he said: "We are not on friendly terms, but in principle, a priori, we are also in the opposition bloc." Akhmed Dogan hinted at certain differences between the leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces and the Rights and Freedoms Movements arising on a personal basis mainly.

He underlined that the Rights and Freedoms Movement is an organization engaged in the legal protection of human rights and in cultural and educational activity, pointing out that such an organization should have political functions as well.

According to the information received in the last few days from different parts of the country (Kurdzhali for example), in some regions the movement headed by Mr. Dogan can rely on up to 80 percent of the votes in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

### Mladenov Meets Veterans on VE-Day Anniversary

*AU0905181790 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (BTA)—President Petur Mladenov met today with veterans from the Patriotic War on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism.

May 9 is a great international holiday for all who love mankind, who love people, Petur Mladenov said.

But we are aware of the fact that this day will not have come, irrespective of the other people's contribution if it wasn't for the Soviet Union, the Russian soldiers, the

Soviet Army. On this day we must pay our respect to the memory of these tens of millions, who died, the Bulgarian president said.

He expressed his gratitude to these Bulgarians who have participated in the war.

There have been hard times in our history, I wouldn't say that the present time is easy either, but I think that until there are people like you, Bulgaria will flourish, Petur Mladenov said. [sentence as received]

Minister of National Defense Army General Dobri Dzhurov also addressed the veterans.

### Army Chief on VE-Day

*AU0905173890 Sofia BTA in English 1615 GMT 9 May 90*

["'No Future for Militarism,' Says Army Chief of Staff"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (BTA)—Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, told a VE-day news conference today that the lessons of World War II demand vigilance from everybody so as to prevent the outbreak of another war which, with the weapons of mass destruction available now, would amount to the extinction of civilization.

Since the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted their single defense doctrine, Bulgaria has cut its military spending by 12 per cent, has reduced the troop strength of its Army to 107,000 men and has brought down the number of its tanks to 2,000 and of its warplanes to 214. Colonel General Dobrev emphasizes that the Bulgarian People's Army is ready for even deeper cuts in the Armed Forces provided that Bulgaria's southern neighbors would reciprocate. Under the circumstances in the Balkans, with half of the 605,000-strong Turkish Army deployed in eastern Thrace and western Anatolia, the Bulgarian Army has to be maintained at a level sufficient for the defense of this country.

The speeding up of the peace processes requires substantial shifts in the character of the Warsaw Treaty and of NATO: They are turning more and more into political alliances. With the natural emergence of a new system of collective security which will make politico-military blocs an anachronism, Bulgaria has to build its security on a policy of peace and cooperation in the Balkans, said the chief of staff of the Bulgarian People's Army.

### 'Nikola Petkov' BZNS Remains UDF Member

*AU0905203490 Sofia BTA in English 2013 GMT 9 May 90*

["BZNS 'Nikola Petkov' Remains in the United Opposition"— BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 9 (BTA)—A source of the leadership of the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] "Nikola Petkov" refuted today before the BTA allegations about this party's forthcoming leaving of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces—UDF].

BZNS "Nikola Petkov" remains in the oppositional SDS, Stoyan Shestashki, said who is a coordinator of the BZNS "Nikola Petkov". He elaborated that this decision has been taken at a meeting of this party's Managing Council which was held recently.

It became known that the issue about BZNS "Nikola Petkov" 's possible leaving of the SDS in view the creation of favourable conditions for its unification with the BZNS has caused hot debates among the oppositional Agrarian Party leadership.

### New Macedonian Association Formed in Bansko

*AU0805143590 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 3 May 90 p 1*

[Text] Bansko, 2 May (BTA)—A group of citizens who share the ideas of the All-Bulgarian "Macedonia" Union formed two months ago have founded the "5 October" Society here. The name is connected with the date of the declaration of the Balkan War, when Bansko was finally liberated from Turkish slavery. The society's members, who are led by patriotic motives, are representatives of various parties and organizations and will carry out various activities in order to publicize the truth about the Bulgarian nation.

"Our main goals," said society Chairman Ivan Obetsanov, "are to campaign by democratic means and mainly through science against all attempts to distort and appropriate Bulgarian history, against the assimilation of Bulgarians in neighboring states, and for the moral rehabilitation of all Bulgarians and foreigners who took part in the national liberation movement of the Bulgarians in Macedonia."

The All-Bulgarian "Macedonia" Union and the "5 October" Society have recently issued an appeal. "We appeal to the Bulgarian public," the appeal states, "to consider what the so-called 'Ilinden' Organization represents. It has declared itself to be both a 'cultural' and a 'revolutionary' organization and wants to support the rights of something they call a 'Macedonian minority' in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian people will not remain silent witnesses to the attempts to continue the rift in their national consciousness."

### Lukanov on Importance of Agreement With EEC

*AU0905191590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 May 90 p 5*

[Report on interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by DUMA representative Petur Gornenski in Sofia; date not given: "We Are Going

to Europe Not Only With Our Difficulties, But Also With the Opportunities for Cooperation"]

[Text] Before flying to Brussels, where the agreement on trade and economic cooperation is to be signed between Bulgaria and the EEC, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov met DUMA representative Petur Gornenski and answered his questions:

[Gornenski] What are your expectations as you leave for Brussels?

[Lukanov] The signing of this agreement symbolizes our return to Europe in the economic and political sense. This is also a document of immense practical importance for us, because it opens up wide opportunities for cooperation, for access to the EC, and for obtaining financial, material, and methodological support in carrying out the reform. Accordingly, my expectations are optimistic.

[Gornenski] Will this document change our attitude toward the other CEMA member countries?

[Lukanov] I often put it like this: We must finally stand on our own two feet. In other words, we must preserve the values we have created in our relations with our CEMA partners but within the framework of a radically renewed CEMA, reformed on a market basis, and at the same time strengthen in all possible ways our ties with the world market, most of all with Europe, which is our natural market.

[Gornenski] With what balance sheet are we going to Europe?

[Lukanov] The debit side is well known—$10 billion in the red. Actually, Europe should also take into account that this debit has accumulated mainly from purchases from this same Europe. In the period since 1982 alone, our total trade deficit with West Europe is approximately equal to the amount of our foreign debt. Therefore, this gives us grounds not only to request but also to insist that Europe eliminate the reasons for the existing imbalance that arises from its policies. I am thinking here of the trade and political barriers, customs barriers, quantitative restrictions, and so on. I am glad that our argument has finally received a hearing. The recent decisions by the Common Market's Council of Ministers are very much in line with what he have been putting forward for years in our claims to our European partners.

The credit balance is primarily historical in nature. Bulgaria has made a contribution to the development of Europe and European civilization that should not be forgotten either by us or by our partners. Apart from this, we have an economy that has its own possibilities, irrespective of its present difficulties and critical condition. We are going to Europe with a relatively well-developed infrastructure and with a considerable human potential for our size, so that we can be an interesting trading partner for any European state, even if not a big one.

We are going to Europe as a country with an exceptionally favorable and interesting position, not only for us, but also for our partners, in the system of regional, continental, and intercontinental economic relations. This is because of Bulgaria's geographical position and the active contacts it has developed—within the CEMA framework, with the Arab countries in the Middle East, with the eastern Mediterranean region, and with certain Third World countries. I consider that from this viewpoint, Bulgaria also represents a very interesting partner and interesting subject for making joint capital investments and engaging in export-oriented production. We are equally placed vis-a-vis West Europe, the Near and Middle East, East Europe, and the Soviet Union. I am sure that this will be very important in the future. We also have strong positions in international transportation and communications, so that we are not going to Europe as a poor land. We are going with our problems and difficulties, but also with the awareness that we have something to offer in a cooperation.

[Gornenski] During the four months in which your government has fulfilled its duties, two assessments have emerged: a positive one, made by a number of Western partners and representatives of international economics institutes, and a negative one, arising mainly because of the government's single-party nature. Where are we to find the balance between these two assessments?

[Lukanov] The balance should be somewhere in the middle. I am probably inclined to show a lack of modesty in this self-assessment for two very simple reasons. First, the problems that face our economy are such that one can hardly expect miracles and immediate results. We will clearly need a lot of time and effort to surmount the present crisis. Second, one should bear in mind that the time that we have available (and we now have almost none, since the elections are exactly one month away) does not permit us to set ourselves any long-term tasks, and we should not do so. Our task was, first, to prevent the disintegration of the economic system, and there was a real danger of this. I think that this goal has been achieved. Our other main task was to formulate the main directions of an in-depth, radical economic reform on a market basis. This has also been done, and I am glad to point out that I did this in consultation with the opposition's experts, despite the commentaries that they are now making. This provides a foundation for future joint work.

We aim to begin the reform through short-term measures, which should not so much overcome as alleviate the consequences of the crisis. This is why our assessment should not be simplistic. I would not say that we have achieved complete success, and personally I did not expect it. Nonetheless, the objective observer will hardly deny that the measures that we have started implementing are real and practical ones, they are not mere demagogy or outward show. Some of them will produce results in months, while others are already starting to provide results. I am very encouraged, for example, by the positive results now emerging in agriculture, where

the production of milk, meat, and vegetables, as well as the care devoted to autumn crops and the spring agricultural work, show evidence of restored confidence in the state's policy and an increased interest in production, including utilizing the new forms of managing the land and agricultural resources.

A further point that I think deserves comment concerns the government's active foreign contacts, which are not of a formal, protocol nature, but dictated first and foremost by the desire to make our foreign relations a real, effective factor in helping to resolve the country's most acute problems. All the contacts that we have made—at government leader and foreign minister levels, with businessmen and representatives of the foreign trade departments of partner countries from both the East and the West—have been extremely pragmatically oriented. The main problem that we encountered, for there was no way of postponing it, was the problem of the foreign debt, and this only related to the short-term payments. I would point out that, contrary to certain assertions, these contacts have been very productive. We received understanding after we had succeeded in explaining and demonstrating that the reforms in our country are serious and irreversible. We also obtained support, if we speak of the purely financial aspect. Most of all, we managed to reach provisional agreement on the way in which the question of the short-term debt might be settled, and at the same time also began active and constructive negotiations on seeking long-term solutions, which we are linking with Bulgaria joining multilateral institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. All this I would include in the government's credit balance.

[Gornenski] How important will the agreement between Bulgaria and the EEC actually be with regard to our emergence from the serious economic situation?

[Lukanov] There is a direct link. It is perfectly clear that without the support of West Europe and—I would like to stress this firmly—the Soviet Union, without the simultaneous support of these two main partners of ours, we would not be able to overcome the basic causes of the economic crisis, irrespective of the efforts that we make ourselves. I am referring primarily to the structural causes and the financial and foreign exchange imbalances. For this reason, the agreement that we are about to sign with the European Commission is of great political and practical importance for us. Of course, it represents only a first step. It opens the door for continuing talks on all the main aspects—access to Western markets, liberalization of the terms for exporting Bulgarian goods, abolishing quantitative restrictions, and obtaining preferential customs duties—moreover, through fundamental decisions made by the EC covering the entire range of trade and political issues. Here we should also mention the liberalization of exports to Bulgaria, in relation to high- technology products, as well as the embargo restrictions on financial support imposed by the EC and the Group of 24, in which the Community is not only the coordinator, but also a principal participant. In this context, there exists a fundamental tendency not to wait for the results of the elections in Bulgaria, but to include our country in the list of states in which the reforms are already sufficiently advanced for them to receive international support. We should not fail to mention other forms of aid, which may not be so impressive in terms of figures, but are exceptionally important, such as training of cadres, transfer of leading experience, and the creation through agreements of a singly unified legal framework for cooperation, that is, the creation of a so-called "region with uniform legal regulations."

[Gornenski] It is clear that despite the short-term goals you have set yourselves and are pursuing, the government essentially also had in mind the long-term aspects of the country's development and its foreign trade relations.

[Lukanov] This is true. We are striving to complete as much work as possible, and not only work with immediate effects. We are trying to create good conditions for the next government's work. This is the only way to evaluate the fact that we are continuing to work on a package of laws that outlines the main contours of the economic reform. We are trying to act in such a way as to facilitate the next government's work as much as possible, so that it does not have to make sharp changes in policy. In its work, the government is motivated by the logic of economic development, not by the logic of the election campaign.

[Gornenski] Let us suppose that the credit that we need so much has been granted. How would you propose to utilize it?

[Lukanov] First, I want to point out that insofar as there is any reluctance to grant credits, this is dictated by the real condition of our country, and not by political considerations. Initially, any creditor is conservative in his approach, and he wants to be assured of guarantees for his financial investments. It is for this very reason that we must strive as a country and as a people to inspire confidence, and not the reverse. Second, it is true that we have managed to obtain serious support, and this is not only expressed in immediate financial support, which is not so important, but, first and foremost, support for restructuring the Bulgarian foreign debt, because the latter is of such dimensions, especially the short-term debt, that it cannot be settled by the method of "plugging leaks."

Regarding the question of where the money might have gone, I would remark that it is not such a mystery how the additional debt of over $7 billion was accumulated in a mere five years. We are preparing analyses, and a lot has already been said on this issue. This is no secret. We are prepared to provide additional information to our public, in order that it can see that the bulk of this money went on maintaining production and the nation's level of consumption.

It is evident that in the future we will have to change the way in which credits are used, and here I would agree with the opposition. It is not economically correct for a single bank—in this case the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank—to take the loans and allocate them to economic organizations and companies, irrespective of whether they are in state, private, or mixed ownership, and for the state then to take on the job of ensuring that these loans are repaid. Here a radical change is needed. With the exception of social activities such as health care, education, and certain others, for which the state has to provide the necessary foreign exchange, the loans must be granted to the users, who will, however, be responsible for repaying them. Only in this way can we impose financial and foreign exchange discipline and the degree of severity in the preliminary investigations and assessments that will offer guarantees against the economic irresponsibility and primitive attitude to foreign exchange that have been so characteristic of our economy until now.

[Gornenski] Recently there have been increasingly lively arguments about the road along which we will proceed toward a market economy, about the pluses and minuses of the gradual or so-called "shock" transition. How do you regard this choice?

[Lukanov] Personally, I do not approve of the term "gradual transition" to a market economy. I believe that it is more correct for us to speak of a transition in stages, which does not mean slowly. The only meaning that I put into the term "in stages" is that a reform like this cannot be completed in a single leap, but step by step, with each succeeding step prepared by the one before. In any event, the reform would have to be integrated [kompleksna] in nature. Here I am in agreement with our critics who say that a nonintegrated approach dooms the reform to failure. We have no such intentions, so there are no differences between us in the view on the integrated nature of the reform. There must be an inner logic and interrelationship in the conduct of the reform. In this sense, we stand for both an integrated and a speedy reform.

I do not accept the concept of a "shock transition" either. My first reason is that such an approach entails making a great fuss about the difficulties. The concept includes a large dose of masochism, suggesting as it were that if we have to have a reform, then it should have the most serious consequences possible for the people. We are convinced that the reform can be implemented speedily, in an integrated way, but at the same time giving thought to the people and caring for their social security and protection. We hold this view because world experience proves the advantages of such an approach. This is not our own invention. Earnest governments that have conducted similar reforms have tried to minimize, not to maximize the social burdens and the social cost of the changes. We are very well aware that the reform requires boldness, determination, radical measures, an integrated approach, and a speedy transition. However, while acknowledging this, we not only admit, but insist on the necessity for the reform to be implemented in combination with a package of measures for social protection.

[Gornenski] In the month remaining before the elections, what steps do you envision will be taken toward this transition?

[Lukanov] The main task that faces us is to complete the work on the package of the most urgent legislation, which we are to submit to the National Assembly and keep "in cold storage" for the Grand National Assembly. I hope that the latter will adopt these laws as a guideline in its main priorities and will not waste a lot of time on examining them, because the economy requires speedy measures. The second main direction is to maintain economic activity in the country at the level achieved during the first four months of the year, or even higher. Positive signs are already appearing in this respect. Of course, the main restricting factors, namely foreign currency and material supplies, still remain in force. These now form the government's main concern in its search for possibilities to help in escaping from the difficulties.

## UDF Delegation Meets Officials in France

*AU0905205590 Sofia BTA in English 2037 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Paris, May 9 (BTA)—A delegation of the oppositional Union of the Democratic Forces headed by its chairman Zhelyu Zhelev, began today a series of talks with responsible French leaders, so as to introduce them to the preelection platform of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces—UDF] and problems which Bulgaria is facing. In the morning the delegation met with the secretary of the French Socialist Party Pierre Mauroy. After the talk Pierre Mauroy stressed that the SDS can rely on the moral, political and material support of the party. The delegation was received by the leader of the Union for French Democracy Valerie Giscard d'Estaing who also supported the opposition in Bulgaria and emphasized his interest in some points of its economic program.

Tomorrow [10 May] Zhelyu Zhelev will be received by France's prime minister Michel Rocard and other French leaders.

## Further on Delegation Visit

*AU0905210090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 8 May 90*

[Text] At the invitation of the Association on European Cultural Community, a delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], led by chairman Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, is visiting France. The delegation met Pierre Mauroy, first secretary of the French Socialist Party; Giscard d'Estaing, former president and leader of the Union of French Democracy; and the Elysee Palace general secretary. At a news conference afterward, Zhelyu Zhelev said that the French side has shown interest in the situation in Bulgaria and the preparation

for the elections that will take place next month. He pointed out that on the basis of the roundtable agreements, preconditions have been created for conducting really free elections. In this context, he has invited noted French political figures to attends as observers in the last part of the election campaign in Bulgaria.

Another goal of ours, Zhelyu Zhelev said, is to understand to what degree we can rely on support after the elections. He pointed out that Bulgaria very much needs economic assistance. We are satisfied with the hospitality we have been shown, Zhelyu Zhelev said. The fact that the delegation was received by such high-ranking officials shows that in France there is a serious attitude toward the opposition in Bulgaria.

At the news conference, many questions were posed about the UDF political and economic program. Talking about foreign policy, Zhelyu Zhelev said that the opposition does not demand Bulgaria's immediate withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, but added that he expects that this alliance, and all other military blocs, will disintegrate. The UDF hopes that Bulgaria's security will be guaranteed within the framework of a comprehensive European system. Zhelyu Zhelev expressed confidence that the UDF will win the elections with a great majority and stated that afterward it will initiate certain unpopular reforms, which could be conducted only by an influential political force. He also said that the UDF will exist as a united political force until the complete elimination of the totalitarian system and that its goal is to bring democracy to Bulgaria through peaceful means.

## Possibility of 'Military Coup' in USSR Viewed

*AU0905140290 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 8 May 90 p 1*

[Vasil Asparukhov commentary: "Army and Gorbachev"]

[Text] "The old marshals still have enough nails to oppose the Kremlin," —this is the categorical assessment by L'EXPRESS, the French magazine. To support this assessment, the magazine quotes an unidentified aide of Francois Mitterrand, who reportedly has said: "The Red Army is dangerous. However, it is most dangerous for Gorbachev."

The Army and Gorbachev—this is an equation with many unknowns, which is very topical in a country with a one-party government system. Until very recently, the Soviet leaders needed small "cogs" rather than personalities. Consequently, the Army had to be something "invincible and legendary," and simultaneously, absolutely faceless.

Furthermore, under conditions of a total lack of freedom, the Army logically becomes a support of the system. Now that the Soviet society is relinquishing its past, it expects the Army to be one of the elements of democratic transformations, and an important one at that. However, is this always so?

At present, the Soviet Army is experiencing objective difficulties. It must find its own identity in a totally changed situation, when military doctrines are being changed and the results are personnel cuts, mass destruction of military equipment, and new and higher requirements.... Naturally, those processes are not being greeted with special enthusiasm by the military, and especially by the high-ranking officers. It is precisely on this dissatisfaction that certain circles of the conservative part of the disappearing state and party apparatus are relying, preferring decisions from a position of power rather than political solutions. Therefore, nobody would maintain with absolute certainty that in the USSR there are no forces that, in their striving to preserve their privileges, would not resort to such a radical means as a military coup.

Nevertheless, we must not forget that a strong anti-Bonapartist tradition exists in the Soviet Army. In addition, only two high-ranking military leaders have remained from the period before Gorbachev's ascent to power. Let us also recall the opinion of Colonel General Boris Gromov, whose name is most often mentioned as a military leader who could lead such a coup: "What coup do you mean? I repeat—this is a nonsense, supported by nothing, or perhaps policy promoted by certain circles for which the Army, during these times of restructuring, is like a bone in the throat."

## Gorbachev's Loss of Prestige Viewed

*AU0905193990 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 3 May 90 p 7*

[Veselin Dremdzhiev commentary: "THe Weight of Chains"]

[Text] Was 1 May 1990 the most difficult and perhaps most humiliating day in Mikhail Gorbachev's life? The Soviet president heard insulting chants that almost compared him to Ceausescu, and when he left the tribune of the Lenin mausoleum, his exit was accompanied by whistling.

Many people in Moscow today are already convinced that the incident in Red Square shows an alarming deterioration of Gorbachev's prestige in the Soviet Union. This phenomenon has many explanations, but two of them are essential: namely, perestroyka has been stagnating for six years and even the tremendous energies of the people in Gorbachev's entourage cannot eliminate the tragic shortage of foodstuffs and other goods in the USSR.

Even if everyone in the USSR could understand and, to some extent, resign himself to the economic failure of perestroyka, the Soviet president's immovable stand on the question of Lithuania seems to have exhausted the credit of confidence granted to him by numerous people. It was hardly possible for Gorbachev to act in any other way on Vilnius; nevertheless, the iron grip of the economic blockade evoked the indignation of all those who were convinced that perestroyka had at least produced a

greater tolerance for freedom-loving attitudes. The great paradox is evident: Gorbachev is paying a high price for a situation in which he manifested greater tolerance compared with the compromises he so far made with the conservatives within the CPSU.

Was this not, precisely, the reason why the well-informed George Bush, to everyone's surprise, refused to adopt "sanctions" against Moscow? As far as old political foxes such as Mitterrand and Kohl are concerned, they promptly grasped the danger threatening their friend in Moscow and immediately came out with pacifying proposals to Lithuania, which slightly calmed spirits. As we see, Western politicians are showing greater foresight and greater loyalty toward Gorbachev than some of our foreign policy commentators who did not hesitate to attack their former idol in their articles.

The clouds are gathering over Gorbachev. It is more than evident that the lack of a multiparty system in the USSR produces further internal political tension, which is dangerously escalating. It is difficult to say to what extent the president and his team are responsible for this. The stubborn efforts of the conservatives within the Soviet leadership to preserve the "unity" of the CPSU and the "integrity of the political system" are sufficiently strong to prevent Gorbachev from making any counteractions for the time being. This is certainly the reason why he has not been (at least as far as we know) the target of a "palace revolution." Apart from this—who could possibly replace him—it really requires superhuman efforts and abilities to keep your balance on the brink of this crater called USSR.

One of the reports on the May Day Red Square incident revealed a preposterous fact. It pointed out that Gorbachev was apparently surprised by the events at the mausoleum. It is evident that neither he nor his close advisers and experts ever suspected such a development. Nevertheless, the demonstration of the informal groups was announced in advance. Should Gorbachev's team also be affected by some kind of stagnation?

Nevertheless, this is perhaps the lesser evil. It would be much worse if the powerful Russian bureaucracy should be victorious in the struggle against a man who could be described as a brilliant social democrat, but incapable or not strong enough of freeing himself from the chains of Leninism—or should we say, from the chains of a great empire?

## Commentary Analyzes CSFR Civic Forum

*AU0905102190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian*
*7 May 90 p 5*

[Todor Koruev commentary: "The Commodity of the Civic Forum in the Political Market"]

[Excerpts] Prague, 6 May—[passage omitted] The euphoria caused by the democratic revolution that began on 17 November is fading away—every miracle does so, if not in three days, then in three months. Now that everyone is returning to earth, it may be easier to find an answer to the question that nearly everyone is asking himself: "Quo vadis, Civic Forum?" [passage omitted]

As a revolutionary democratic movement that completed a number of radical changes, as a guarantee for a democratic, pluralistic system, the Civic Forum has a heterogeneous composition. Its supporters include people from the entire political spectrum: from the ultra-left—Communists and former CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] members who suffered in the so-called normalization period, when accounts were settled with the reformers within the party, through the Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, and Republican Democrats, now awakened from their long sleep, to the conservatives and the ultra-right, who are allergic to any form of socialism. The Civic Forum managed to attract the "third side" of the triangle. If the first side was the CPCZ, and the second the opposition, then the third side was composed of the vast number of passive people who formed something like a "party that had excluded itself from political life." The CPCZ labored under the delusion that the passive people were among its own members, but on 17 November last year the children led their parents out of their state of indifference and drew them into the political centrifuge. Thus, the Civic Forum is an example of political diversity, and this already implies that the unity beneath its roof cannot last for long.

From the very first day, the initiators of the Civic Forum proclaimed its spontaneity, informality, and self-governing nature—all mechanisms for voicing the will of the people. The movement's charter states in several places that it has no vertical structure, that it is not a hierarchical organization, and that its coordinating center in Prague carries our only initiative, information, and organizational functions by means of "comments, recommendations, and appeals." However, if you examine the charter closely, you can see not only a horizontal, but also a vertical structure. The local civic forums cannot become legal bodies without the written consent of the coordinating center in Prague or without the agreement of the regional or district centers. The natural authority of the coordinating center in Prague grew into absolute power, and the spontaneity and informality that inspired strength for destroying the totalitarian system is not irreversibly changing into a weakness. The undemocratic organization of a movement that is democratic in its original concept is turning it into an "aggressive weed" that, as the TVORBA daily writes, is springing up both at the grass roots and in the center.

At the "grass roots," the aggressive weed germinated unexpectedly early: Headquarters of the Civic Forum sprang up in the enterprises and offices, schools and hospitals, and scientific institutes, and this at a time when the parties had been driven out of these places and political activity at workplaces had been stopped. [passage omitted]

At "the top," the aggressive weed sprouted because of the cadre crisis that the Civic Forum itself had precipitated. The movement's big figures, the men who were its ideologists and provided its inspiration, one by one started to climb the hierarchical ladder of state government. Vaclav Havel became a president of national consensus, while the Forum's spokesman, journalist Jiri Dienstbier, became foreign minister and then, a few days ago, deputy chairman of the federal government; Vaclav Klaus and Petr Miller are ministers, and so on. [passage omitted]

The political scientists suggests two possible versions for the future of the Civic Forum. The first is the replacement of one monopoly by another, accompanied by a "witch-hunt;" the second is a split into many movements and small parties, which may make the formation of a coalition difficult. At the moment, the two versions exist in a mixed form. Despite the proclaimed principles of justice, the "witch-hunt" (i.e., hunt for Communists) is intensifying, while certain parties and organizations among those that founded the Civic Forum have dissociated themselves from its conduct, which in their view resembles totalitarianism and a new "normalization." We have even lived to see the day of a demonstration against the Civic Forum, something that was hardly likely to have happened a month ago. Of course, the Civic Forum continues to still hold the strong trumps of November 1989, and has a real chance of winning over the overwhelming proportion of the silent majority, but the first signs of loss of confidence are already appearing.

### Havel Leaves for Council of Europe

*LD1005082790 Prague CTK in English 0759 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 10 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia left today for Strasbourg on a one-day visit during which he will address the Council of Europe parliamentary assembly and hold talks with leading officials of this organization.

On his last planned foreign trip before the parliamentary elections, due on June 8-9, President Havel is accompanied by his wife Olga and a three-member delegation of the Federal Assembly.

The Czechoslovak president's visit to Strasbourg is seen as an important step in the efforts of Czechoslovakia's leadership to return to Europe.

President Havel will be able to present to the Council of Europe parliamentary assembly positive results of the consistent democratization progress in the country since he became head of state at the end of last year. Since the beginning of the year the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly discussed and passed 63 constitutional changes, amendments and new laws which, to a great extent, comply with the demands of the Council of Europe regarding protection of human rights and developing multi-party democracy.

President Havel's intensive international political acitivities concentrated in the past 18 weeks of his term on restoring the good name and position of Czechoslovakia in Europe. In particular fundamental was the new approach to neighborhood and cooperation with the two German states, as well as talks with the leaders of Poland, Hungary, the USA, the USSR, Britain and France.

In connection with President Havel's visit, the granting of special guest status to Czechoslovakia in the Council of Europe will be officially confirmed. Czechoslovakia applied for this status, which has been already granted to the USSR, Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia, in January, and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier attended a session of foreign ministers of 23 Council of Europe member states in Lisbon in March.

### Havel Arrives in Strasbourg

*LD1005112290 Prague CTK in English 1010 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Strasbourg 10 May (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel arrived here this morning for a visit to the Council of Europe's seat.

After a short welcome by chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe [CE] Anders Bjorck, President Havel left for the Palace of Europe, where the 42nd session of the parliamentary Assembly of the CE is held at present.

Czechoslovak deputy premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier joined President Havel's entourage at the airport.

### Havel Speech Urges NATO Changes

*LD1005124390 Prague CTK in English 1005 GMT 10 May 90*

["Parts of Czechoslovak President's Address in Council of Europe"—CTK headline]

[Text] Strasbourg May 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel demanded here today that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization transform its military doctrine and change its name as it is linked with the era of the Cold War.

Addressing the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe he said that "as far as the Warsaw Pact is considered it seems that when it ends its role as the political instrument of European disarmament and as escort of some countries in their return to Europe, it will lose its purpose and dissolve. What originally came into being as the symbol of Stalinist expansion will in time lose all raison d'etre", President Havel added.

He pointed out that on the contrary "It seems that NATO, as a more meaningful, more democratic and more effective structure, could with less trouble become the seed of a new European security system than the Warsaw Pact. But it, too, must definitely change. Above all it should—in the face of today's reality—transform its military doctrine. And it should also, in view of its changing role—soon change its name", the president said, emphasizing that "the present name is so closely linked to the era of the Cold War that it would be a sign of a lack of understanding of present-day developments if Europe were to unite under the NATO flag".

President Havel welcomed some states' projects to convene to Prague this year's meeting of the participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

He proposed that, if the summit agrees upon setting up a European security commission (at the initiative of the Czechoslovak Government), Prague could host its headquarters. The Czechoslovak Government suggests the commission could start working as of January 1st, 1991.

This year's CSCE summit should define the content and purpose of next talks called Helisnki 2, with the aim of drafting a new generation of Helsinki accords. The novelty of these accords would be that they would not merely consist of an extensive set of recommendations to governments and states (as those adopted in Helsinki in 1975) but of a set of treaties on cooperation in the sphere of security. Speaking against the deployment of nuclear weapons President Havel warned that nuclear weapons targeted on Czechoslovakia, the eastern part of Germany and Poland are playing into the hands of supporters of former regimes in these countries and others, who are waiting for a chance. "It would be a historical paradox if

this chance were to be provided by those who have helped us in the past in our struggle against totalitarian regimes," he said.

However President Havel did not react to Monday's [7 May] declaration by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, that there shall be no denuclearization, neither of Europe nor of Germany.

"Nuclear weapons in Europe," stressed Havel, "produced never to be used, have become, in the post-war period, part of a security model which paradoxically ensured peace through the balance of fear. The nations of Central and Eastern Europe, however, paid a heavy price for the efficiency of this nuclear model by remaining in the grip of a totalitarian corset."

"It may be that in the first stage, say within some five years, a community could be established on European soil that we might call the organization of European states. And with the beginning of the third millenium, if God permits, we could start to build the European confederation as proposed by President Mitterrand", Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said.

He pointed out that "with the gradual consolidation, stabilization and growing competence of the future confederation, the whole 'Helsinki' security system would gradually lost its raison d'etre until Europe would ultimately become capable of ensuring its own security".

The president went on to say that "the main disaster of our modern world has been its bipolarity, the fact that the tension between the main powers and their allies was indirectly transferred in one way or another to the whole world. This situation still persists to this day. The whole world is constantly torn apart by this tension and stifled by the existing superpowers. The victims of this unfortunate state of affairs are above all the same one hundred states inaccurately called the Third World, the developing world, or the world of the non-aligned", Vaclav Havel said, emphasizing that the "understandable anxiety of this world over the possibility that the emergence of a united 'Helsinki' security zone could widen the gap between the North and the South is unjustified. The very opposite is true", he stressed and added that "it would be an important step from bipolarity to multipolarity".

The Czechoslovak president stated that he saw no reason why the Parliamentary Assembly and its executive bodies could not be the crystallizing core of the future European confederation.

"Czechoslovakia," he said, "considers all the criteria for the admission of new states to the Council of Europe as excellent, recognizes them without reservations and rejoices that the Council of Europe is opening up to the emerging democracies in the former Soviet satellites who are now building their relations with the Soviet Union on the principles of equality and full respect of the sovereignty of individual states."

He assured the parliamentary deputies that "the new democratic government in Czechoslovakia therefore wants to do everything in its power to contribute to the coordination of efforts by central European countries to enter various European institutions."

As is known, President Havel came up with the idea of a joint entry by Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary into Europe during his February visits to these countries and at the Bratislava summit of these countries in April.

Reiterating his idea that the unification of Germany into a single democratic state cannot be an obstacle to the European unification process but, on the contrary, "should be understood as its engine", President Havel stressed that "our actions leading to the construction of a new European order should keep step with the unification of Germany."

Without assessing the results of Saturday's meeting of the foreign ministers of the two German states and the four victorius powers in Bonn, Havel welcomed the "two plus four" talks.

He reiterated Czechoslovakia's full understanding for the concern of "our Polish brothers" over the western borders of their state, stressing that "we consider this border as final and support Poland's participation in all negotiations related to its borders."

"There is no reason why, against the background of an extensive 'Helsinki' security system, some or all of the European nations of the present Soviet Union could not at the same time be members of a European confederation and of some eventual 'post- Soviet' confederation," the Czechoslovak president said.

He stressed that "the present Soviet leadership, which proclaims a scientific understanding of historical processes, undoubtedly understands all nations' natural aspiration to their own identity and the artificiality of the present structure of the Soviet state inherited from czarist and later Stalinist hegemony. For all these reasons we believe that the West should at least free itself from its traditional terror of the Soviet Union. One can hardly at the same time admire Mr. Gorbachev and fear him. We cannot endlessly terrorize each other with the spectre of conservative forces or hawks who will overthrow Mr Gorbachev and return the Soviet Union to the fifties. And in no way can one cultivate this spectre simply to provide the military industry with orders. There is no way back and the future of the world today no longer stands or falls with one man. And it is also no longer in anyone's power to stop the course of history which has so strikingly started to move forward."

President Havel also spoke of Czechoslovakia's unquestionable acknowledgement of the right of all nations to their own identity and to a free choice of their state and political system. He said he was convinced that "the present process of democratization we are witnessing in the Soviet Union is irreversible. I am convinced that all the nations of the Soviet Union will peacefully move to

the type of political sovereignty they desire and that the Soviet leadership will allow a free transition to this development before it is too late. That is before the threat of a violent confrontation. It seems the time is not too distant when some republics will become completely independent and others will establish a new type of community, whether confederative or of a looser type," the Czechoslovak president stated.

### CSFR Joins European Cultural Convention

*LD1005135990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] In Strasbourg today, Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of Council of Europe, signed a document on the basis of which Czechoslovakia joins the European Cultural Convention.

### Reportage on Calfa Trip to EC, Ireland

#### EC Trade, Economic Accord

*LD0705101290 Prague CTK in English 0828 GMT 7 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Federal Premier Marian Calfa left Monday for a working visit to the seat of the Commission of the European Communities to sign an agreement on trade and economic cooperation with the European Communities.

Later on the Czechoslovak premier is due to leave for a one-day visit to the Republic of Ireland.

Marian Calfa is accompanied by Deputy Premiers Vladimir Dlouhy and Armin Delong, Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak, Minister of Metallurgy, Engineering and Electrical Engineering Slavomir Stracar, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Petr Miller and Czech Minister of Health and Social Affairs Pavel Klener.

Before departure, Government Spokesman Zbynek Fiala told CTK that the agreement with the EC will lift a number of restrictions on the majority of products of Czechoslovakia's trade with EC countries. As regards Czechoslovakia's involvement in all integration programs within the EC, Czechoslovakia will discuss each program separately. The agreement also opens up the path into the EC and to talks on associate membership. Czechoslovakia believes it is in a better position than Poland and Hungary and this should be reflected in the character and intensity of cooperation with the EC within a short time, Fiala said.

Premier Calfa is expected to meet with Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens and representatives of business circles.

His program in Ireland includes talks with the Irish Premier Charles Haughey and a visit to the free industrial zone in Shannon, the government spokesman said.

#### Calfa Meets EC Commission Head

*LD0705220990 Prague CTK in English 1856 GMT 7 May 90*

[Text] Brussels May 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa met here today with President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors.

After the meeting Marian Calfa and Vice-President of the Foreign Relations Commission Frans Andriessen attended a press conference. The Czechoslovak premier stressed the need for complete liberalization of mutual economic relations and pointed out cooperation in science and technology in the creation and protection of the environment. He also called for compatibility in information, banking and financial systems.

The press conference was also attended by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vladimir Dlouhy who said he had invited Vice-President of the Commission for Internal Market and Industry Martin Bangemann for a visit to Czechoslovakia.

### Bush's Lance Decision Viewed Favorably

*AU1005105990 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 May 90 p 5*

["(VOD)"-signed commentary: "Bush Has Broken the Nuclear Lance"]

[Text] By making one statement, President Bush has cut short the debate on modernizing short-range nuclear missiles, a debate which, according to necessity, was sometimes passionate and other times rather relaxed and had been hampering the disarmament agenda since the end of 1988. The U.S. President has therefore prepared a completely new pack of cards for European negotiating tables, which elegantly conceals the fact that, among other things, he has also disposed of some untenable positions.

Modernization, that is, replacing the obsolete Lance-type tactical missile—which has a range of approximately 130 km—with a new type with almost triple the range has lost all its rationale in recent months. The missiles with a most appropriate name—Lance means spear—had been deployed in West Europe as a deterrent against the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority. However, the wave of tanks, the specter of which until quite recently accompanied the West's wildest dreams, has been eliminated by time. If today the missiles are technically obsolete, they seem even more anachronistic when looked at from a policy perspective. The much feared wave of tanks from the East today exists, more or less, only on paper; in this way, the threat against which U.S. lances oriented their preventative edge has also dwindled away. What is more, 88 Lance missiles, along with their nuclear warheads, present an unseemly, almost impolite, image since, in view of their limited range, they would—

rather paradoxically—only strike those Central European countries which have embarked on the road of democracy and which again are acknowledging one Europe.

By his decision (not only missiles but nuclear artillery are also involved), Bush has removed the shield from West Europe, which had been a reliable protection for it. Cautious voices are warning that he has prematurely broken his own nuclear lances as development in the USSR is incalculable. However, despite this unpleasant variant, the U.S. President can (just like the Europeans) gain far more than he can lose.

First and foremost, he has sent a clear signal to Moscow about his intentions. Discussions on short-range missiles should logically come in order after the successful denouement of the Vienna marathon on reducing conventional forces which, however, is not progressing as smoothly as it could. The fact that Bush has reversed this order makes it clear that he is extremely interested in unraveling the conventional tangle in Vienna. Apart from this, he is indirectly helping Gorbachev to swallow the bitter pill created by the problem of a united Germany's political appurtenance; it is already clear that the Germanys will fall into the North Atlantic alliance's embrace and will not become neutral as Moscow wishes. The Kremlin has to—nolens volens—agree and, in this instance, its final "da" will not hurt so much if NATO is strengthened by Germany but is weakened by the unilateral reduction in the number of U.S. nuclear weapons.

The U.S. President has also sent a very clear signal to his European allies who, for a long time, had skeptically followed the modernization plans. It follows from his mission that a Europe deprived of the U.S. nuclear umbrella will have to, more than it has during the past 40 years, get used to taking its own affairs into its own hands. Let us take from this what we would like to believe: The continent's new political map is already a fact.

### Dubcek Receives Lukyanov Telegram on Anniversary

*LD0905172790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek received today a telegram of congratulations from Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, on the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia. It recalls the joint heroic struggle of both countries against Hitlerite fascism. Anatoliy Lukyanov says that the traditions of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are a special contribution to the strengthening of peace and international security and to the construction of a common European home.

### Opinion Poll Gives Jun Election Voting Trends

*LD0905185390 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 9 (CTK)—A total of 61 per cent of voters are resolved to cast their votes in the June parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia. Another 36 per cent are still undecided whether to vote and three per cent will not vote, an opinion poll taken by the Czechoslovak Institute for Public Opinion on April 11-23 and published here Wednesday said.

A total of 22 per cent of the representative sample of 1,315 respondents said they would give their votes to the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence initiatives if the elections took place next week, i.e. three per cent more than in early April. Fifteen per cent would vote the Christian and Democratic Union, i.e. three per cent less than in April. The Czechoslovak Communist Party would receive 11 per cent of votes, i.e. a drop by one per cent.

Popularity of other political parties has also dropped in comparison with the April poll, e.g. the Green Party would win nine per cent of votes, i.e. two per cent less, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party four per cent, i.e. two per cent less and the Czechoslovak Social Democracy five per cent, i.e. one per cent less.

The number of those who are still hesitating what party to vote has increased in comparison with April to 24 per cent.

### Civic Forum Economists Disagree on Enterprise Law

*AU0905155290*

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 28 April on page 4 publishes a 1,800-word commentary by Milos Zeman, the economic forecaster and Civic Forum parliamentary deputy, entitled "Through Nationalization Toward Denationalization?" In the commentary, Zeman sets forth his objections to the Law on State Enterprises which the Federal Assembly approved on 19 April (and which was drafted under the management of Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek, also a member of the Civic Forum group in parliament).

While Zeman agrees with the authors of the law that current state enterprises are inefficient and that they should eventually be transformed into joint stock companies, he believes that the road toward this goal should be different.

As Zeman points out, the law provides for the reinforcement of the state's role in the economy (under the law, self-management will be replaced by direct government administration; the state will appoint directors and half of the supervisory board; and it will also decide on merging and breaking up companies), whereas the main

task today should be to "denationalize" state enterprises, i.e., to remove state regulation and the bureaucracy associated with it.

Although Zeman concedes the validity of the arguments which the authors of the law put forward for the elimination of self- management (self-managed enterprises tend to focus on short-term benefits at the expense of long-term goals, such as investments), he warns against the possible consequences of this step: "The even greater nationalization of today's state enterprises resulting from the elimination of self-management entails the risk that mostly large enterprises will be set up, managed by state bureaucrats rather than by the much-spoken-of managers." He also points out that, even under the communist regime, self-management demonstrated its viability when it "acted as a hindrance to interference from 'above.'"

Zeman goes on to analyze all four different privatization scenarios that have been put forward in Czechoslovakia. He first dismisses as a "naive scheme" the free distribution of shares to the public because this would not rechannel funds spent on consumption into savings and would not generate any capital. (Although Zeman does not explicitly say so, precisely this "naive scheme" was endorsed by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, another Civic Forum economist). He then rejects as unrealistic the second scenario, the sale of shares to domestic investors, because of the dearth of domestic capital. Besides, the sources of the financial means of potential domestic investors are mostly suspect. Zeman then also challenges the third scenario, the sale of shares to foreign customers, because this could lead to the sellout of natural riches. He says that he is not "xenophobic" and does not think that "the door to foreign capital should be closed." He contends, however, that foreign investors should only be allowed to use the country's cheap labor and to generate new assets in the country but should not be able to purchase existing assets in Czechoslovakia.

The fourth scenario, the one Zeman endorses, is the sale of company shares to employees. The author suggests that "instead of making up such a scheme, we should adopt one. A well-known possibility is the U.S. ESOP [Employee Stock Ownership Plan] system, whereby a profit-related part of wages is not paid out to the employees in cash but is converted into shares." Zeman argues that U.S. companies using this system have above-average economic results and that, according to U.S. experience, ESOP makes possible the rapid recovery of even formerly "destitute" enterprises. In Zeman's view, the U.S. ESOP scheme is well-suited for Czechoslovakia since "if we consider almost all our state enterprises to be destitute today, we will not be far from the truth." Moreover, the employees' stake in ownership would have an additional advantage because, unlike employees of state enterprises, employees of companies under the ESOP scheme are willing to accept temporary pay cuts to keep their jobs.

Zeman then once again returns to the issue of self-management and asks whether, considering the prospects and advantages of employee stock ownership, "the elimination of self-management is not nonsense. It is precisely from the ranks of self-management that the managers of the future, conversant with the specific conditions of their company, should arise. These managers can never be replaced by state bureaucrats. The transition from present-day self-management to joint stock companies can be a long-term process. Its length will depend on the possibilities of the generation of domestic capital. This is why we should not give up the strong motivational factor provided by current self-management. So far, the authors of the bill have managed to make not only trade unions but also the association of state enterprises oppose the law on state enterprises, which is a rare coalition. Only future development can answer the question whether the [loss of] motivation caused by the elimination of self-management will not markedly influence the economic results of enterprises and whether the state bureaucrats will not create new self-perpetuating and inefficient structures." To support his own arguments, Zeman then cites recent statements by economists Kenneth Galbraith, Ota Sik, and Milton Friedman which endorse "participatory" capitalism, warn against the sale of state enterprises to foreign investors, and emphasize the good "developmental possibilities" of self-management.

### Public Against Violence Movement Election Program

*AU0905204790 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 2 May 90 p 4*

[Unattributed article: "A Chance for Slovakia"]

[Text] On 17 November, we decided to stop walking on the road which had violated our traditions and human nature for 40 years. Two days after the bloody intervention in Prague's streets, the Students Movement and the Public Against Violence movement were born. The representatives of the Public Against Violence movement have formulated two basic principles of democracy:

1. Abolishing a one-party monopoly on power,
2. Free elections.

In the course of a few days, plazas filled with people and the whole of Slovakia accepted these claims. Those were weeks of enthusiasm, but also of strain and risk, since totalitarian power was giving up its position unwillingly. We felt that it was not acceptable to get stuck in the middle of the road and we pledged to hold on. Step by step, the Public Against Violence movement fulfilled the dream of freedom: It opened the gates of television and radio, it freed the newspapers from ideological control, and it removed the omnipresent prohibitions. On 10 December, it led tens of thousands of people to the other side of the border stripped of barbed wire. In the months that followed, the Public Against Violence movement focused on the preparations for free elections. This was no democracy, but an inevitability. Together we were

creating scope for a better life. The revived parliament has passed laws which permitted dozens of parties and movements to be established. This will guarantee real democracy after the free elections. Our promise that we would be working toward them has been fulfilled.

**Slovakia Has a Chance**

**A Chance for Moral and Spiritual Revival**

We have opposed violence. We want to improve on human relations, we want to revere one another, and we want to create scope for uniting the spirit of modern Europe and Christian traditions. We want everyone to find esteem for their consciences again.

**A Chance for National Maturity and Pride**

For the first time in history, freedom has not been given to us by someone else. We want to use the historical occasion to find our place in Europe. We want our national republics to be strong—this will make our federation stronger, too. The time has come when Slovaks begin to find their own identity. We want our strong and authentic national consciousness to be a guarantee for a friendly coexistence with national minorities. We want to renew natural relations with our countrymen abroad. We want to respect the interests of all groups—ethnic, religious, social, and others, since democracy means the ability to respect the interests of minorities.

**A Chance for a Working Economy and Social Securities**

The road toward a market economy is ahead of us. We consider this to be the only possible way to ensure prosperity and a good life for people in Slovakia. We want to embark on this road together with everyone. We want to march on this road in such a way as to avoid leaving the weaker ones behind—pensioners, young families, the handicapped, and those who will not succeed in the market economy. We do not want the market economy to be a threat; we want it to be a hope. We have experienced ourselves that the totalitarian state does not make a good economist. We want the state to focus on the protection of social securities. We do not want to suppress the growth of wealth, but we want to prevent the growth of poverty.

**A Chance for a Clean Country and Healthy Children**

Violence against nature is violence against man. Its consequences are borne by all of us. We do not want workers to work in unhealthy work places, and we do not want the farmer to cultivate spoiled land. We do not want poisoned water and air. We want to push for permanent environmental control with the participation of all people. We do not want economic growth at the expense of our health. We want an ecologically favorable economy. In this we see a chance for our children.

**A Chance for the Free Citizen**

Communities belong to the citizens and not to the state. We want every citizen to participate in the administration of his community, city, or region. We want the growth of citizens' activity—social movements, associations, and special interest groups—because they are the guarantor of our freedom and of our share in the administration of public matters. The more free the citizen is, the stronger democracy is.

We want to have a good life and human relations and we want a cultural and educated Slovakia in which goodwill and mutual understanding will prevail. We invite you to take part in this journey for a better life.

You have the right to ask every party or movement why their candidates want to win your vote. The Public Against Violence movement has been established as a movement of those citizens who want to live a dignified life. We have raised our voice against totalitarian power just because we wanted to offer a positive program in free elections. We have promised you that we will be a movement for the democratic public. We are fulfilling this promise. Our candidates represent the wide stream of the center and they are unified by:

—credibility,
—professionalism,
—unselfishness.

History made us raise political demands at the beginning of the revolution. We understand politics as a tool for solving problems. There are hundreds of problems, and they are bothering us every day. We want to solve them jointly in a professional, ethical, and responsible way. We want to help Slovakia to heal its wounds as soon as possible.

Your vote represents this help.

## Legal Action Taken Against Interior Minister

*AU0905155090 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 29 Apr p 1*

[CTK report: "Legal Suit Filed Against R. Sacher"]

[Text] Bratislava—Colonel Viliam Ciklamini, LLD., former first deputy federal minister of interior, yesterday met with the press on the premises of the medical ward of the Military Hospital in Bratislava, where he is hospitalized. He used the occasion to announce that he, together with J. Prochazka [also a former deputy federal minister of interior], is filing a suit against Richard Sacher, federal minister of interior, for accusing them, at a news conference on 20 April of this year, of forming a second center at the ministry, of not obeying orders, and of involvement in politics.

V. Ciklamini's statement reads: "We did not get involved in politics. The controversy at the Ministry of Interior was a professional one about the focus of the ministry's operations. We came to the ministry with a

single objective in mind; namely, to remove the pillars of the old structures and to build a new mechanism which would correspond to the concept of a modern democratic state. Herein our approach differed from that of the minister. He wanted to use the original apparatus to unveil the existing old structures. We wanted to build a new apparatus with new people because we had certain experiences in the struggle against the old structures. It is not true that we did not have the staff; we did have enough people, but we knew that if we kept the employees of the old department, it would not be possible to guarantee that the safety of our citizens would not be threatened."

### Assembly Views Soviet Withdrawal Problems

*LD0905151790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In this news bulletin, we shall also go over to the Federal Assembly building in Prague. Jan Smihula, correspondent, is ready in our parliamentary studio:

[Smihula] [passage omitted] Our previous reports in the news bulletins lacked detailed information about the reports on the work of the commission of the Federal Assembly chambers for the supervision of Soviet troop withdrawal, with which the deputies acquainted themselves this morning. They adopted a resolution on it. The report states that the commission visited six localities on our territory, from where Soviet troops are being withdrawn. I recall that the commission's members are due to travel for the first time to Slovakia. On the basis of its findings, the commission has established that major damage is occurring as a consequence of no provision being made for their protection after the facilities have been handed to civilian administration. The commission's members therefore propose that this situation should be tackled immediately. They also found that there is ammunition in Soviet troops' training grounds. With regard to this, the commission has asked Federal Premier Marian Calfa for the cooperation of our Army, which would be a guarantor of the safety of these areas.

Because the state of the facilities being sold by the Soviet side requires in many cases immediate intervention in order to prevent subsequent damage, the members of the commission asked that a special purpose fund be established with the premise that these means will be available for the district national committees. In this respect the deputies then approved the resolution. [passage omitted]

### Further on Proceedings

*LD0905130290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] [Announcer] First let's switch to the Federal Assembly building in Prague. Our correspondent Lubos Lidicky will report on the proceedings of the sixth day of the 28th joint meeting of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations.

[Lidicky] Here is the latest world record made by our parliament in passing laws. In a mere seven-and-one-half minutes since its opening it abolished the old law on the monopoly in physical education, which was held by the former Czechoslovak physical education association. The other law, which did not need long discussion and which was also approved, was the law on terms of service of National Security Corps members, which legalizes the civic commissions, which have already been functioning in the Federal Ministry of the Interior and in the republican ministries. Its other paragraphs specify the procedure for terminating the service.

The draft bill on national holidays, public holidays, and commemorative and significant days seemed to be a simple matter, too. Two counterproposals were discussed: the transfer of liberation day from fascism from 9 to 8 May, as was proposed by Deputy Zeman, and a proposal by Deputy Vebr that 6 July, commemorating the day of immolation of Jan Hus, be a national holiday, too. The two proposals were rejected by a separate vote of the deputies of the chambers. So the final form of the law on national holidays, public holidays, and commemorative and significant days as approved by the parliament 30 minutes ago looks like this: National holidays are: 9 May, the day of liberation from fascism; 5 July, the day of Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius; and 28 October, the day of the emergence of the independent Czechoslovak state. Other public holidays are, apart from from Sundays, 1 January, the new year; Easter Monday; 24 December, the day of plenty; 25 and 26 December, the first and the second days of Christmas. Significant and commemorative days of the Czech and Slovak federative republic were also approved.

Shortly before 1000, Deputy Karol Stome contributed to the discussion with a critical note on the issue of the property of political parties. We recorded his speech.

[Begin Stome recording] Since 6 May more of our citizens, who have gone on a hunger strike, have been camping by St. Wenceslas [statue]. This is their statement:

In March, at the Federal Assembly session, an appeal was addressed to the Federal Government, which said that it should submit as soon as as possible a draft bill in the property of political parties, movements, public organizations and the National Front. An appeal to the government was made that it should issue as soon as possible a governmental directive banning the use of unjustly gained property. Apart from this a demand was put forward specifying the ineffective nature of these transactions over the last six months. The Federal Assembly approved both proposals.

The objective of the statement by CKD Polovodice, Prague 4, was the same. This demand received a spontaneous backing for the general strike on 11 April 1990.

Since then the appropriate bodies have not concerned themselves with this nationwide demand. No directive was published or drawn up. Neither the press nor the

state television pay any attention to it. The state radio keeps silent, too. The parliament and the government also maintain silence.

Because six months since 17 November will have passed in 10 days time and because the parliament is due to finish its session in the next few days, there is no other way but to draw the public's attention to this matter by a hunger strike, for nothing will happen otherwise. Dr. Sokol's letter, on which silence is also maintained, was of little use. There is evidently a tendency to maintain silence on the issue of property, too. We have announced the hunger strike in order to push through Dr. Sokol's demands after the failure to take a lawful procedure. We shall end the hunger strike immediately after appropriate instruction has been issued by the government.

The St. Wenceslas Independent Association of Revolutionaries are the young men who, since 17 November, camped by St. Wenceslas statue, who guarded the candles and all other symbols which triggered off the students' revolution of 17 November last year. I am therefore asking: Can we at least attain the achievement that the public will be informed about what is happening on this issue? Or are we likely to continue to allow to escape into thin air the reports on the enormous assets of the Communist Party and some sections of the National Front, which perhaps are not true? Or, on the contrary, is it likely that we shall finally tell the public where the truth lies so that we could go into the elections in a comparatively calm atmosphere? I also wish to ask: Shall we let the young men camp there forever, or shall we at long last do something? I would be pleased if we could take a stand on this. Thank you. [end recording]

[Lidicky] This was the factual note of Deputy Karol Stome. We considered it necessary to put it on the air. The deputies will discuss this issue in the afternoon in greater detail. I will report on further proceedings in the Federal Assembly in an hour's time, from the parliamentary studio.

### Assembly Debates Parties' Assets

*LD0905204990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Radio Czechoslovakia continues to report on the 28th joint session of both Federal Assembly Chambers. Lubos Lidicky brings you the latest report now:

[Lidicky] Until now the deputies have been talking about a report by the parliamentary commission that has been checking on political parties' assets. Minister Korinkova, chairman of the Committee of People's Control, presented a detailed report. She summed up the work of more than 200 controllers, who checked on the assets and property in land registers of National Committees and in banking houses—for example, the Czechoslovak Communist Party's [CPCZ] assets represent almost 8 billion Korunas [KCS], the Czechoslovak Socialist Party 12 million, the Czechoslovak People's Party 13 million, the Freedom Party and the Democratic Party 100,000 KCS. She also listed the subsidies given to parties via the National Front, talked about membership contribution sums, the state of production means and so on.

A very interesting speech was deliverd by Dr Veleta, deputy prosecutor general, who said that steps have been taken to investigate the possibility of misuse of financial resources and possible criminal prosecution. In this regard he said, among other things:

[Begin Veleta recording in Czech] Concerning direct personal gains by individuals, we cannot yet document anything like that. We do not want to claim one thing or rely on something which is not yet documented. We have discovered in the course of our checks that every year the then general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Husak would send a letter to the federal finance minister asking him to secure from the then chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank a purchase of approximately $500,000 for the CPCZ, which were obviously paid for, in due course, in korunas. These dollars, on the basis of this, were handed over to the CPCZ Central Committee in cash and were taken to Moscow where they were deposited in a special account for communist parties in nonsocialist countries.

I can only tell you now how Mr. Bilak explains the source of these hard currency means: That 10,000 to [illegible],000 Party members were abroad, in the West, permanently, and, according to him, would bring the hard currency to our country—maybe they should have been paying membership contributions in dollars; according to our investigation, however, those with whom we have checked have not been doing this. We shall be investigating this claim and other versions, too. In this respect we also expect that in the near future we shall be able to close this investigation and that we shall start the next stage before beginning the criminal proceeding. [end recording]

[Lidicky] A number of deputies have spoken in the debate. They kept stressing the fact that the task of the commission was not only to establish the size of assets but to propose a way of correctly arranging these, so that no party enters the elections with asset advantages. [passage omitted]

### Passes Party Assets Resolution

*LD1005061590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] [Announcer] First we go over to the Federal Assembly building in Prague, where our parliamentary correspondent Roman Zamboch has this report on the deliberations of the deputies of the two chambers during the sixth day of their joint mneeting:

[Zamboch] The whole evening session has so far been about the results of the investigation into the assets of the political parties, movements, and public organizations. I am now going to play you the draft resolution on

the question of the CPCZ's [Czechoslovak Communist Party] assets as read out by Deputy Michal Maly in the parliament's large debating chamber.

[Begin Maly recording] The commission set up to draft the resolution proposes this draft Federal Assembly resolution on the appeal by the trade union organizations at CKD Energetika [power engineering], CKD Polovodice [semiconductors], CKD Slevarny [foundry], and Praga plants, and by the Confederation of Political Prisoners and the Movement for Civic Liberty.

1) The Federal Assembly, in keeping with the appeal issued on 3 May 1990 by the trade unions at the CKD plants, fully identifies itself with the call for a full and clear resolution of the issue of the assets of the CPCZ. In this framework, it proposes that the government take measures to prevent the transfer of assets and transactions outside the limits of reasonable and regular financial management. With respect to the assets of the CPCZ and the assets of other political parties, organizations, and movements, the Federal Assembly passed Resolution No. 147 on 14 March 1990. Federal government bodies dealing with this task today informed the Federal Assembly of the interim results of the work of the People's Control Committee in this matter.

2) With respect to the demand of the Federal Assembly and federal government that they set up a parliamentary commission by 9 May 1990 to investigate the activity of the CPCZ from its foundation to date, the Federal Assembly notes that, at present, commissions—historical and military commissions and a government commission headed by Professor (Mencl)—already exist for the period from 1968 to date, as does a commission to analyze financial relations between the budgets of the Czechoslovak Federation and the Republics and political parties, and they are dealing with the issue of the CPCZ. In addition, the establishment of a parliamentary commission is prevented by the fact that the Federal Assembly would be unable to monitor its activity, because the work of the Federal Assembly ends with today's meeting.

3) With respect to the demand for the Federal Assembly and the CPCZ to reassess the suitability of the CPCZ candidature in the June elections, we note that the Federal Assembly and the CPCZ respect the law on political parties and the election law regulating the elections to the Federal Assembly and National Councils, which are to be held by the resolution of this reconstructed Federal Assembly. The commission proposes that the Federal Assembly should pass the proposed resolution herewith on the appeal by the trade unions of the CKD plants, the Confederation of Political Prisoners, and the Movement for Civic Liberty, and should give its consent to this resolution by a vote. [end recording]

[Zamboch] Yes, and these words were spoken about 20 minutes ago. I can say that with minor changes of wording, the deputies of both Federal Assembly chambers did indeed give their consent to this resolution. The deliberations, however, are still in progress because not all the issues connected with the assets of the political parties have been fully explained.

### Commission Reports on 17 Nov Events

*LD0905214190 Prague CTK in English 2024 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 9 (CTK)—The extent of responsibility of the Czechoslovak secret police and the political background of the police action against the student rally in Prague on November 17, 1989 have not been revealed entirely within the past six months, a final report on the activities of the Parliamentary Commission supervising the investigation of the November 17, 1989 events published here Wednesday said.

The Commission has already ended its activity as the term of office of the current Czechoslovak Parliament is going to expire in connection with the upcoming parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia.

The report said that suspicion exists that the police action against the student demonstration on November 17 was planned in advance and was directed by two commands with different instructions. The secret police's activities before and after November 17 are still unclear. "Some testimonies indicated that the police action on November 17, 1989 was aimed at removing the then political leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party", the report continued, adding that the then political leadership did not control the secret police.

The report also attempts to characterize the political climate in Czechoslovakia at that time stating that besides the former dissidents also groups within the Communist Party and the Ministry of the Interior were interested in changing the political leadership. The Commission considers the Interior Ministry's inactivity after the November 17 events completely illogical. "The secret police did almost nothing though having detailed information about everything that happened. It let the dissidents, detained on any other significant anniversary before, establish the Civic Forum and overthrow the regime in peace", the report said.

The report deals with the investigation of individuals in connection with the police action on November 17. Former leading secretary of the Prague City Communist Party Committee Miroslav Stepan, who has been in custody since December 23, has been accused of three offences. Firstly, he gave the order for the use of tear- gas grenades and water cannons during the demonstration on October 28, 1988, secondly he initiated the transport of detained demonstrators to the areas 30-50 kilometres from Prague, and thirdly he asked Czechoslovak First Deputy Minister of the Interior General Aloiz Lorenc and First Deputy Chief of the Prague National Security

Corps Colonel Bytcak to use all means against the demonstrators despite the original order not to take steps.

Miroslav Stepan may be sentenced from three to ten years of imprisonment. The parliamentary report points out, however, that Stepan is not the major person to be blamed for the police action.

The report also confirms direct responsibility of former Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan for the social climate after the November 17, 1989 events.

The commission devoted attention to potential connection between the November 17, 1989 events and activities of the Soviet Committee of State Security KGB. "It is evident that the KGB was informed about the action", the report says. The authors state at the same time that the KGB's participation in the preparation for and realization of the action against the demonstrators in Prague on November 17, 1989 was not proved.

Nevertheless, the report says that former Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of the Interior General Lorenc met with KGB Chief Kryuchkov and other KGB representatives in Moscow in August and September 1989. General Lorenc, who is in the commission's opinion, one of key personalities of the November 17 events, had a dinner with Soviet General Grushko on November 17.

The report states that 561 injured persons at the age between 13- 83 were registered in Prague in connection with the police action against the demonstration on November 17, 1989. A half of them were students. Seven persons suffered from lung and brain contusions, fractures of facial bones and kidney lesion. Other 54 injured persons were treated more than seven days.

### Assembly Calls for Hunger Strike End

*LD1005053690 Prague CTK in English 2159 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 9 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly adopted today a resolution calling for a halt to a hunger strike of a group of Czechoslovak citizens at the statue of St. Wenceslas in Prague and said it has obliged the Czechoslovak government to continue the investigation concerning the movable property and financial means of the Communist Party and control the transfer of its property since November 17.

The federal government submitted today to the parliament partial results of the People's Control Committee's investigation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's immovable property and means of production.

### Joint Session Concludes

*LD1005053890 Prague CTK in English 2200 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Prague May 9 (CTK)—The 28th joint session of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly ended tonight and thus the term of office of the current parliament expired.

Before ending the session the deputies returned to the discussion on the bill on the establishment of a federal committee for the environment.

Deputy to the House of Nations Karol Stome (non-affiliated) told the deputies that a special parliamentary commission discussing the bill recommended to vote again on it, but the deputies to the House of Nations elected in the Slovak Republic did not pass the bill again. That is why the final decision whether the bill will or will not be passed is to be made by a newly elected parliament.

### Deputy Premier Vales on Economic Reform

*AU0805204190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 May 90 pp 1,2*

[Vladimir Cechlovsky and Pavel Paral report: "The Final Word Will Be Given By the New Government"]

[Excerpt] Prague (From our own correspondents)—The impatiently awaited radical economic reform, which the Federal Government discussed on Friday [4 May], is still not ready. As follows from the news conference, the government wants to prepare a package of reformist steps which would be as complete as possible. The final decision on further steps will be made by the new government formed after the June elections.

Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales stated that the main issues were the questions related to procedures during the change of ownership relations, the liberalization of prices, and the internal convertibility of the currency.

He said that the viewpoints have become even more unified. The process is slowed, for instance, by the fact that the discussion on the conditions for acquiring foreign currency for the stabilization fund—which is a prerequisite for introducing the internal convertibility of the koruna—as well as the discussions on the prices for the raw materials imported from the USSR are still being held. For example, on the subject of wholesale prices, he said that both variants anticipate that all prices for raw materials will be implemented at the level of world prices. In neither of the variants is a pure liberalization anticipated because the state uses—to a certain extent—various forms of regulation. The draft variants—leading to the koruna's internal convertibility—also anticipate some regulation to be implemented by the state.

A great deal of the questions were aimed at the price problems. When asked by how much retail prices will be increased, V. Vales said that it depends a lot on the exchange rate fixed by the government. If one dollar costs some 17 korunas, then the retail price level will rise by about three percent, but if the rate is 35 korunas per dollar, then this level will rise by about fifty percent. Further, when answering the questions, the deputy premier stressed the need for a change to wholesale prices,

which should be made in parallel with the changes made to retail prices and to procurement prices in agriculture. There are many proposals for price changes; some of them have already been discussed by the government, some remain to be discussed, but none of them can be implemented yet. According to Vales, the decision will have to be implemented by the new government simultaneously with other provisions.

The implementation of the koruna's internal convertibility in a short time is also unrealistic. This would require substantial foreign currency reserves—at least 1.5 to 2 billion dollars. Such high credit is difficult to obtain on foreign currency markets. Neither the negotiations with the IMFand the World Bank brought about any specific results even if a 1 billion credit is not impossible. In this connection, the deputy premier also said that during the implementation of the economic reforms it would be impossible to avoid some borrowing.

The topics at the news conference also included the transition toward payments in world prices and convertible currencies in trade with the USSR. A high active balance would help to appease the problems that would arise if such measures are adopted in the initial period. The transformation of this balance from rubles to dollars is under discussion. The overall impact cannot be estimated yet because only about 40 percent of trade is being discussed at the government level. The rest is being discussed among individual enterprises. [passage omitted]

### New Political, Mass Organizations Formed 5, 6 May

*AU0905193290*

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers of 7 May publish reports on the constituent meetings and congresses of various political as well as professional organizations held on Saturday, 5 May, or Sunday, 6 May.

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 7 May on page 3 carries a 120- word CTK report on the founding of the Young Social Democrats of Czechoslovakia [Mladi socialni demokrate Ceskoslovenska], the "independent" youth organization of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, at Zdan near Prague on 6 May. The CTK report mentions that Robert Simarek was elected the organization's chairman.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 7 May on page 2 carries a 180-word "ti"- signed report on the establishment of the Association of Czech Industry [Svaz ceskeho prumyslu] at the association's constituent meeting in Ostrava on 5 May. The meeting was attended by representatives of 174 industrial enterprises from the Czech Republic. According to the report, the association wants to act as a counterbalance to the associations of private and cooperative entrepreneurs and "defend" the interests of state-owned companies. Miroslav Gregr, director of the Desta Decin state enterprise, was elected the association's president and Hynek Hanak, director of the Tatra Koprivnice enterprise, its vice president.

On the same page, Prague PRACE publishes an 80-word report on an extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society [CSVTS] held in Brno on 5 May. The congress decided "to terminate the activity of the CSVTS, to disband all its elected and appointed bodies, and to annul the CSVTS statutes." It "approved transition to a new arrangement whereby the newly established organizations in the republics—the Czech and Slovak Associations of Scientific-Technical Societies [Cesky a Slovensky svaz vedeckotechnickych spolecnosti]—will have the right to dispose of the dissolved CSVTS's property."

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 7 May on page 2 carries a 100- word report on the constituent conference of the Lambda Association [Svaz Lambda] held in Prague on 5 May. The aim of the organization, which will operate in the Czech Republic, is to "achieve the full equality of homosexuals and transsexuals in society." The association is involved in the campaign against AIDS and wants to organize a contact service for homosexuals.

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 7 May on page 2 carries a 600-word Juraj Gressner report on the constituent congress of the Christian Democratic Youth of Slovakia [Krestanskodemokraticka mladez Slovenska] held in Zilina on 5 May. This new youth organization wants to "bring together all young people who endorse, and live according to, Christian moral and ethical values." It plans to organize leisure activities for young people and publish its own periodicals.

The SMENA report does not specify the nature of the new organization's ties with the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] of Slovakia; it only mentions that Ivan Carnogursky, executive secretary of the KDH Council, who attended the congress, "assured those present of the KDH's comprehensive support for this new youth initiative." Jan Deco, a 28-year-old geologist from Kosice, was elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic Youth of Slovakia.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 7 May on page 2 carries a 50-word report on the founding of the Slovak Managers' Association [Slovenska asociacia manazerov] in Bratislava on 5 May. According to the report, the association wants to become involved in the training of managers "according to modern world methods" and raise the professional standards of industrial managers.

### Details on Third TV Program Provided

*AU0905183390 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 29 Apr 90 p 3*

[Lubos Horcic article: "Open Channel 3"]

[Excerpts] The nationwide third television program, which will initially have an experimental character, will start broadcasting on 14 May. It will be called OK, which stands for Open Channel [Otevreny kanal]. Viewers will find it on frequencies where they used to watch the Central Program of Soviet Television. In Prague, for example, it is channel 41.

"Of the 26 transmitters that used to transmit Soviet Television, only 16 can be used for OK 3. We nevertheless expect that some 4 million Czechoslovak citizens will be able to receive the program," explains Dr. O. Janota, adviser to the central director of Czechoslovak Television.

"Six channels, all of which have been transmitted primarily via satellite thus far, have promised to contribute to OK. These are the French La Sept and TV 5 channels, the U.S. CNN (Cable News Network), the British Screensport, the Anglo-U.S. MTV (Music Television), and Soviet Television," says P. Kadlec, chief editor of the new program. "Practically all genres are represented in the program of OK 3—news and current affairs, sports, music, and cultural programs. The television companies have promised to provide their programs free of charge on the condition that they will be distributed by surface transmitters." [passage omitted]

Czechoslovak Television is also engaged in negotiations on distributing the Worldnet program, which is the U.S. Government information channel.

The third Czechoslovak television program has an experimental character and will be broadcast in this form only until 1 September. Its appearance can be expected to change, possibly in a significant way. This depends primarily on the outcome of negotiations with foreign television companies and their demands, particularly financial demands. [passage omitted]

"About 80 percent of the programs will be broadcast live and in their original language," says O. Janota. "We will be able to dub, or provide subtitles for, only a small portion of the programs. This is why we want to fit into OK 3 both new language courses and repeats of previously screened language courses. [passage omitted] The third program will broadcast daily between approximately 1600 and 2400. The selection of programs from all six channels will not be easy, however." [passage omitted]

## GERMAN REUNIFICATION

***Notice to Readers:*** *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

### Preiss Speech on Communal Draft Constitution

*LD1005092590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0848 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Regional and Communal Affairs Minister Manfred Preiss characterized the government draft of a communal constitution as the central piece of the administrative reform which is under way and as an element promoting German unity. Such a law on the self-administration of the communities and regional districts is a legal step toward the decentralization of power and safeguarding a state based on the rule of law, the BFD [League of Free Democrats] politician stressed in Berlin on Thursday [10 May] when speaking in favor of the draft law to the People's Chamber.

The European charter on communal self-administration is at the base of the draft communal constitution. According to Preiss, the opportunity thereby exists to achieve a harmonization of the communal legislature. The self-administering community formed the basis of the democratic state. The communal constitution is directed toward developing the authority of the local people's representations as working corporate bodies. Its future plans include the direct election of mayors, which the minister described as a step toward communal grassroots democracy. More supporting legal regulations are required for the necessary economic and commercial promotion.

Minister Preiss spoke in favor of repealing the law on the local people's representations.

### Chamber Hears Draft Administration Law

*LD1005105590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0957 GMT 10 May 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The sixth session of the People's Chamber began on Thursday [10 May] at 1000 in Berlin.

At the beginning of the discussions, Regional and Communal Affairs Minister Dr. Manfred Preiss, (BFD) [League of Free Democrats], proposed the government draft law on the self-administration of the communities and regional districts. [passage omitted]

The draft was passed on to the relevant committees. The second reading of the law is due to take place at the seventh People's Chamber session.

Following a motion from the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], parliamentary group deputies went to the front of the People's Chamber building to speak with striking teachers and trainers and to learn of their concerns, needs, and demands. [passage omitted]

### Draft State Treaty To Be Available 14 May

*AU1005151090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 90 p 3*

[Dietmar Rietz report: "Draft of State Treaty To Be Submitted on Monday"]

[Excerpt] The provisions concerning the conversion of money on 1-2 July are to be published at the beginning of June. They are to be regulated in Annex I to the draft of the State Treaty. This will be some sort of reference book for GDR citizens, which will include currency conversion details and their implementation. At any rate, conversion will take place via accounts. This was announced by Guenther Krause, head of the delegation of GDR experts discussing the State Treaty with the FRG, at the Council of Ministers on Tuesday evening [8 May]. There are considerations to also use Sunday [1 July] for the conversion. [sentence as published]

At a marathon session in Bonn, for which Krause will depart with a 23-member delegation on Thursday [10 May], the draft is to be completed and to be submitted on Monday [14 May]. The state secretary promised the representatives of 19 individual trade unions information on details of the State Treaty during a briefing by 15 May. Krause cited the ensurance of the stability of the Deutsche mark as being the most important principle of the talks. Inflationary tendencies during the transition from the planned to the market economy, as occurred in Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, must be avoided. Allowances should be paid in cases of social hardship and to low-income groups. However, the experts have yet to determine who will fall under this clause. [passage omitted]

### Three Trade Unions Begin Warning Strikes

*LD1005091290 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 0800 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] A one-hour warning strike has begun in educational establishments, clothing companies, shoe factories, and [word indistinct] GDR enterprises. Schools and kindergartens have been closed since 0600. With this action the trade unions for teaching and education, as well as for textiles, clothing, and leather, intend to lend emphasis to their demands for a 50 percent wage increase when monetary union is achieved. The executive of the Teachers Trade Union stated to our editors that as Education Minister Meyer has rejected the demanded salary increase, there is now no reason to dispense with the strike. During the action, however, the care of children will in all cases be secure. The Teachers Association has, in the meantime, rejected the warning strike.

The Textile Trade Union reported a very large response to its call. It intends to sell goods boycotted by the large retailers, such as clothing, shoes, and leather goods, on the Alexanderplatz in Berlin. The Agriculture Trade Union has begun a blockade of the major border crossings in order to draw attention to the problems facing farmers and in order to demand higher wages. Delegations from all three trade unions, representing over 1.6 million working people, intend to hand over their demands to the People's Chamber.

### State Security Officer Koch Commits Suicide

*AU0905133690 Hamburg BILD in German 9 May 90 pp 1, 4*

[Andreas Moeller report: "Modrow's Loyal Stasi General Shot Himself in the Basement"]

[Text] East Berlin—Loss of power and fear of punishment drove Stasi [State Security Service] Major General Peter Koch (60) to his death. He shot himself in the basement with his hunting gun. Koch was Hans Modrow's most loyal general; on Modrow's order he was supposed to dissolve the Stasi successor "National Security Office." Koch failed miserably; he was even arrested.

Peter Koch, general in the State Security Ministry, was one of the powerful string-pullers of the GDR regime. During the Honecker era he was the chief of the State Security Ministry's Neubrandenburg Bezirk Administration—loyal to the party line, extremely dangerous.

Koch made sure that Markus Meckel (today GDR foreign minister) was monitored by Stasi bugs. He had Meckel's apartment searched in secret. Full of pride, his "Department XX" reported on a peace seminar: "We are present in all groups with a total of eight UW (unofficial workers, that is, spies that had infiltrated the groups)." Only the revolution of the people removed him from his post. But then, at the beginning of December, Premier Hans Modrow brought his friend back from political disfavor. What madness—this strict Stasi general, of all people, was supposed to break up the follow-up organization of the spy service! The reaction of the democratic groups was outrage and shock. The unanimous opinion: "They charged the chief thief to catch the thieves. This cannot work out."

It ended in disaster. At the urging of the opposition, Koch had to admit: "We have dismissed only 25,965 of the 85,000 Stasi employees." On 12 January, Modrow himself dismissed him—to save face. The justification: "Because he was not capable and not competent."

The Stasi general fell even lower: On 29 January, he was arrested for "disloyalty to the detriment of socialist property." The accusation: Embezzlement of 40,000 GDR marks to renovate his apartment and to buy property for a weekend house. He was in detention pending trial in the Rummelsburg prison for six weeks and was released only because of his high blood pressure.

In mid-April he had to leave his four-room official residence at the insistance of the Neubrandenburg citizens' committee. Together with his wife, he found refuge with relatives.

Last Thursday [3 May] he took his Czech hunting gun, went to the basement, and, squatting on the floor, he leaned the gun's butt against the concrete wall, pressed the barrel to his chin, and squeezed the trigger. He was the eighth Stasi general to kill himself.

### Honecker To Be Examined Before Questioning

*LD0905153990 Hamburg DPA in German 1347 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—A new report is to be drawn up on the health of former GDR state and party head Erich Honecker and on whether he is capable of being questioned. The State Attorney's Office wants to clear up the question of whether the 77-year-old, who is at present in a Soviet sanatorium, is fit to be questioned. This topic was also raised briefly at today's session of the GDR Cabinet, as government spokesman Matthias Gehler said afterwards to the press. One can assume that Honecker will then be transferred temporarily to a clinic for the examination. It is still open when the examinations and planned interrogations will produce results.

Other ill members of the old state and party leadership as well as Honecker are also due to be examined or questioned. [passage omitted]

### Diestel Allegedly Delays Stasi Disbanding

*AU0905105790 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] The government commissioner for disbanding the State Security Service [Stasi], Werner Fischer, has reproached GDR Interior Minister Diestel for lacking interest in smashing the former intelligence service. Fischer said in an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency in East Berlin today [9 May] that his commitment was merely words. The commissioner added that he had the impression that Diestel was unaware of the magnitude of the task. He said that the minister has no contact with the government commissioners, whose mandates were still valid, but was dealing with all the problems in a small circle. Fischer warned about destroying the good team of three commissioners, because otherwise progress in the work of disbanding the Stasi might be halted.

### Alliance '90 Withdraws Pohl Resignation Demand

*LD0905134290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1307 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Alliance '90/Greens People's Chamber parliamentary group has withdrawn its demand for the immediate resignation of Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl (Christian Democratic Union).

The parliamentary group's spokeswoman, Kathrin Steinitz, told ADN this afternoon [9 May] that the news statement released this morning had been issued without the proper agreement of the parliamentary group's economy working group. The parliamentary group therefore requested that the statement be disregarded. [passage omitted]

### Crowd Calls for Education Minister To Resign

*LD1005105690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0950 GMT 10 May 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Hundreds of striking teachers vociferously called on Education Minister Hans-Joachim Meyer today [10 May] to resign. They had gathered in front of the People's Chamber building in Berlin and forced Meyer to appear with chants of "We are the people."

The minister's answers did not, however, calm the crowd in any way. Their grievances were directed above all against a wage freeze, insecurity of jobs, and Meyer's prior condemnation of the warning strike. Meyer had stated the evening before on television that such actions were targeted at reversing the change in domestic politics since last fall. [passage omitted]

Labor and Social Affairs Minister Hildebrandt (Social Democratic Party) [SPD] and Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gysi then spoke to the strikers. Gysi said one would have to resort again to the proven form of popular demonstrations if the demanded reforms to the State Treaty did not materialize. "Secret diplomacy in the old mode" is being conducted in this matter by the government. According to Mrs. Hildebrandt, the socially disadvantaged would "be completely forced up against the wall" because of the State Treaty in its present form. She pleaded for more patience.

### Meyer 'Ready To Negotiate'

*LD1005110290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 10 May 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Education Minister Professor Dr. Hans-Joachim Meyer is ready to negotiate with the teachers' trade union representatives after the presentation of the State Treaty some time after 15 May. He announced this today [10 May] on receiving a delegation of about 2,000 teachers and nursery school instructors on Karl-Marx-Square outside the Education Ministry.

The trade union representatives reported that the minister had dispelled uncertainties concerning the 13th month's salary. It will be paid in 1990 as in every other year.

Astrid Kloss, chairman of the District [Kreis] Executive of the Berlin-Hohenschoenhausen teaching and education trade union, said that the minister promised that he will not permit any deterioration in the legal, financial, or social situation of those employed in the education sector. He will support their interests in the framework of the economic and social union. [passage omitted]

### Boehme Warns Against 'Latent Civil War'

*AU1005141690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 May 90 p 3*

[ADN report: "Boehme Warns Against Latent Civil War"]

[Text] East Berlin—"Whoever neglects the right to land; whoever neglects issues of tenancy and other, very vital problems and conditions for the people, is guilty of furthering a long-standing, latent civil war," Social Democratic Party of Germany politician Ibrahim Boehme said in an interview with Radio Luxembourg (RTL) on Sunday [6 May]. He noted that he does not mean this in the sense of barricades but as a civil war "which deprives the people of their entire understanding of their existence." In the end, this deprives the people also of their understanding of democracy and leaves them without hope for the future, Boehme said.

### Progress Made in Berlin Coalition Talks

*LD0905105490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1026 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—After talks today [9 May] on a possible coalition the (East) Berlin Social Democratic Party [SPD], the League of Free Democrats [BFD], and the Free Democratic Party [FDP] noted agreement in all basic points. Those involved share the basic assumption that everything possible must be done to promote the swift growing together of the two parts of the city, Deputy Chairman of the Berlin FDP Siegfried Knispel told ADN. There was also concensus that Berlin be the capital of the united Germany. [passage omitted]

Now the SPD, which emerged as the strongest party in the local elections, will make contact with the Democratic Peasant Party [DBD] and the Democratic Awakening. This will conclude the first round of exploratory talks on a possible coalition in the city.

A second SPD-Alliance '90Greens meeting is planned for Friday [11 May].

### April Unemployment Shows Increase

*LD0905134190 Hamburg DPA in German 1232 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—Unemployment in the GDR continues to rise. The Labor Ministry in East Berlin announced today [9 May] that the number of citizens seeking work increased to around 65,000 in April. This means that almost 27,000 more unemployed were registered than in the previous month. [passage omitted]

### Cooperation Agreement Signed With EC

*LD0805134990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1256 GMT 8 May 90*

[Excerpt] Brussels (ADN-reporter)—A trade and cooperation agreement has been signed between the EC and the GDR in Brussels today [8 May] on the sidelines of the EC foreign ministers' meeting. The document was signed for the GDR by Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl and for the EC by the incumbent president of the EC Council of Ministers, Ireland's Foreign Minister Gerard Collins, and by the EC commissioner responsible for foreign relations, Frans Andriessen. [passage omitted]

### Foreign Minister Attends Council of Europe Session

*LD0905220790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1802 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpts] Strasbourg (ADN reporter)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel and Anders Bjoerck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, stressed in Strasbourg today [9 May] the importance of the Council of Europe for the spiritual unity of the future united Europe. "The importance is present particularly in the human rights convention of the Council of Europe, the content of which we fully support and which we intend to make part of the coming Constitution, or at least the transitional Constitution of the GDR," Meckel said following his meeting with Bjoerck. The meeting marked the start of a two-day visit by Meckel to the Council of Europe.

In the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Meckel was welcomed during the debate on the situation in the GDR, on which the British Labour MP [member of Parliament] David Lambie had earlier presented a report. [passage omitted on further Assembly business]

Markus Meckel also met with the general secretary of the Council of Europe, Catherine Lalumiere, and the chairman of the Ministerial Committee, Joao de Deus Pinheiro. After this he took part in a dinner with members of the Ministerial Committee.

In a resolution on the situation in the GDR, which was passed unanimously, the parliamentarians from 23 countries expressed their desire for the negotiations between the four victorious powers of World War II and the two German states "to lead quickly to a treaty on the status of the future unified state which could be presented at the meeting of the heads of state and government of the CSCE states planned for the end of 1990 and form the basis for a peace treaty with a united Germany." [passage omitted on remarks by an SPD deputy]

The debate on this matter [a united Germany in Europe] will continue tomorrow morning with a speech by GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel and afterwards an exchange of opinions with members of committees.

### Media Policy Minister Mueller Meets Kohl

*AU1005131590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 5-6 May 90 p 2*

[ADN/BZ report: "Preservation and Development of Media Discussed"]

[Text] Bonn—The preservation and development of the plurality of the GDR media was one of the main topics of a talk which FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl had with Gottfried Mueller, GDR media policy minister, in Bonn on Friday [4 May].

FRG Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble, FRG Government Spokesman Hans Klein, as well GDR Government Spokesman State Secretary Matthias Gehler also attended the meeting.

Minister Mueller pointed out that the FRG chancellor and the GDR Government concur in attaching great importance to a versatile media. In their talk they basically dealt with the "media's cultural assignment," and not so much with the economic problems of the sector. Moreover, it was also emphasized that one must be careful and ensure "that the identity of our country is reflected in the media as well."

State Secretary Gehler said that the informal talk gave him the feeling that the FRG chancellor understands the problems that are facing the GDR media. Problems associated with the survival of the GDR media were not discussed at the meeting with the FRG chancellor.

The changes in the contents and the presentation of the GDR papers since the political changes of the fall 1989 are shown in an exhibition that was opened in Bonn's press club on Friday [4 May].

### Interior Ministers Favor Federal State Model

*AU0905145690 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 7 May 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Interior Ministers Favor Federal State"]

[Text] At a meeting in Berlin, the FRG ministers and senators of internal affairs and the GDR ministers of internal affairs and regional and local affairs have agreed on principles of future cooperation. In a joint statement both sides favor the model of a federal state.

As of 1 July, the GDR customs authorities will take over the structures of their West German partners. This involves the retraining of 11,000 GDR customs officials, which is already in full swing.

### Rally Protests Soviet Troop Exercise Site

*AU0905155190 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 7 May 90 p 2*

[ADN/BZ report: "Protest Campaign Against Soviet Troop Exercise Site"]

[Text] Kamenz—"Peace for our forests immediately!", several thousand citizens demanded at a rally in Koenigsbrueck, Kamenz Kreis, on Saturday afternoon [5 May]. With this they protested against a troop exercise site of the Western Group of Soviet Forces on the fringes of the city, where military material is to be removed from and which is to be made ecologically usable again. One year ago two children were killed when they played with parts of discarded military equipment near a Soviet barracks. Before the rally the inhabitants drew attention to themselves by forming a chain with some 200 vehicles. Posters and banners expressed their demands, such as "Instead of shooting tanks, let flowers sprout", and "For a peace treaty and the withdrawal of all troops from German soil."

## USSR Ambassador Gives Reception on V-Day

*LD0905174790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0603 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov gave a reception in Berlin today [9 May] to mark the 45th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. The acting head of state, People's Chamber President Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, and Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere attended in response to an invitation. Also present were other ministers, People's Chamber deputies of all parliamentary groups, and representatives of parties, organizations, associations, and citizens' movements.

## Compulsory Visa Regulations With Italy Eased

*LD0905152890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1353 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An agreement between the GDR and the Republic of Italy on abolition of the compulsory visa in traffic between the two countries was approved in Berlin today [9 May]. This emerges from a news statement from the Foreign Affairs Ministry. It states that persons who have tourist, diplomatic, and business passports may, beginning 21 May 1990, travel without a visa between the two countries for business, tourist, or private purposes, and that they may stay for a period of up to 30 days.

Those wishing to stay for more than 30 days or to take up employment, as well as truck drivers involved in the international transportation of goods, must continue to apply for entry visas.

## Kiraly Questions Arms Dealing at Assembly Session

*LD0905192390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1642 GMT 9 May 90*

[Speech by Deputy Zoltan Kiraly of the Hungarian Democratic Forum at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed House, Esteemed Minister. I will add, first and foremost, that this is, of course, addressed to the trade minister as well. Allow me to say by way of introduction, that this question is not based on concrete facts, but on suppositions which, in my conviction, may embody the suspicion of a violation of the law. Thus, I felt that it was fitting to place this with the legal institution of interpellation. For this reason, I would like to deal only with the essence and the facts, to highlight and make public the following, since we have been able to read many news reports on this.

The recently thwarted KGB provocation in Budapest placed our country in the limelight, presupposing arms-sales actions which do not accord with our legal stipulations. One manifestation of this was the existence of Aviaspace Ltd, and its business transactions. On the basis of these, I would like to ask those concerned what legal basis there is for the creation and operation of the limited liability company. Who is, or rather, who are the founders, and what are the commodities for which it acts as a middleman; how much turnover does it have?

What relationship is there, and is there such a relationship, between the limited liability company and the Defense Ministry's military intelligence? Allow me to refer to the most recent reports, to a report in the prestigious U.S. paper, THE WASHINGTON POST, according to which, in recent years, high-ranking Hungarian figures engaged in the trade of arms and arms systems, in the interest of the United States. It is a supposition, but I recall the event of recent years, when the deceased director of one of the IMPEX's [suffix used to denote Hungarian foreign trade companies] left in his estate Swiss bank deposits to the tune of more than 17 million dollars. Allow me also to refer to the facts—whose investigation by a parliamentary committee could be an agenda point—that the existence of bank deposits amounting to several hundred million are the subject of general hearsay, and there are supposedly people who can prove the facts. Well, the supposition, parallel to this, should be evaluated, and on this basis I would like to ask whether there exist such high-ranking figures. Does the HM [Defense Ministry], the Trade Ministry, know of the concluding of arms-trade deals with the United States? Primarily, did such a thing happen through official channels, or did such a thing happen outside official channels? Thank you.

## Minister Karpati Denies Arms Dealing With U.S.

*LD0905220790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1650 GMT 9 May 90*

[Speech by Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on Karpati rephrasing interpellation by Kiraly about Hungarian involvement in the sale of Soviet aircraft equipment to a Sudanese businessman and THE WASHINGTON POST article on the alleged Hungarian sale of MiG aircraft to the United States] In advance, I would like to say that according to our conclusions, no illegal arms-selling action has taken place in Hungary whatsoever. [passage omitted on Karpati reminding Parliament that the government set up in February an expert committee, including experts from the Trade, Defense, and Foreign Affairs Ministries, whose permission is needed for any military technology export or import]

Regarding the issue of Soviet aircraft equipment, this took place in a free trade zone [szabad vamteruelet], i.e., not within the Hungarian People's Republic, last year. Speaking about the future—although this transaction is carried out by a limited company which is an intermediary service enterprise with Soviet enterprise—they, too, are obligated to request the consent of the committee of experts empowered by the government to investigate the arms sales. It will be this committee that decides whether it is a gas turbine or a military tool, a means of military technology, which can be used for the same purpose in the future, too.

Well, the question then arises as to why there is all this fuss. It is known, as has been mentioned by Deputy Kiraly, by the news—he called it KGB provocation, but I do not know exactly because I am not completely convinced—that Soviet officials did indeed try to execute here a crude provocative procedure, and they wanted to involve Hungarian prosecuting and police organs to help in this. Fortunately, they were uncovered and (?rebuffed).

Our assumption is that this was connected with some kind of internal Soviet political struggle, and these Soviet news reports also serve, in all certainty, this purpose. For this same reason, certain false accusations—libels—have now been leveled against Hungarian prosecuting, policing, and now military intelligence. [passage omitted reminding Parliament that Moscow still has not replied to the letter from the Hungarian chief public prosecutor to his Soviet colleague]

Regarding Deputy Kiraly's question about the relationship between Hungarian military intelligence and this limited company, a Hungarian civilian enterprise, well, as the trade minister already said, it was created on the basis of the company law, and it operates on those grounds. To the extent that Hungarian military intelligence has anything to do with such cases, it is exhaustive in that we have to pay attention to all such questions

where any kind of military interest might be possible: in other words, what kind of equipment, where does this get sent, and how. [passage omitted on Karpati setting out the recent THE WASHINGTON POST story that East Europeans sold fighter aircraft to the United States]

What I can say to the esteemed Parliament is that we thoroughly investigated the matter, going back a long time. We have not sold to the United States of America military technology or weapons on behalf of the Hungarian Republic. Last year we sold four MiG-21 PF aircraft—not to the United States but to a U.S. businessman. These aircraft had been withdrawn from the system long ago—they are 30-year-old aircraft—and not only from Hungary, but from other countries, too. They were transported from Hungary deprived of all their tools and disassembled when transported for museum purposes, for filming or whatever. By the way, not even the MEH [Hungarian scrap metal enterprise] wanted to buy these aircraft. [passage omitted on Karpati describing that it is the chief of staff's duty to pass sentence on antiquated military instruments; on the catgegorization of scrap weaponry; on Karpati's musing that Hungary's fighter fleet is largely antiquated and that attention must soon be paid to this]

The Council of Ministers has ordered us to sell, to make use of this to the greatest possible degree, and that the Defense Ministry should have an income from this, to make up for the budget to some extent.

However, the Defense Ministry and military organs deal neither with the sale nor with the purchase of arms. After the chief of staff makes a decision as to what its fate will be, it is the commercial organs that carry out their sale—thus the sale of these four scrapped MiG-21 PF's was carried out by a Hungarian foreign trade enterprise. [passage omitted on Karpati repeating that the Defense Ministry and military organs do not deal in such trade]

### Horn Uncertain About Proposed Pact Withdrawal

*LD0905181590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpts] The proposal that was made out of turn by Miklos Vasarhelyi on behalf of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] surprised the various parliamentary parties. What he asked was that the National Assembly pass a resolution on restoring the situation of 1 November 1956, when the government renounced its membership in the Warsaw Pact, and that, until parliament makes a decision on this issue, Hungary suspend its membership in the Warsaw Pact. Jozsef Laszlo has asked members of various parliamentary factions for their opinions on this. [passage omitted] Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Gyula Horn formulated his opinion in a somewhat annoyed way.

[Begin Horn recording] For a country like Hungary, adherence to an alliance system is one of the vital issues. I am not certain that we should alter our relations with the Warsaw Pact radically in such a way that it would represent a break (?all at once), because in fact the consequences of this step have to be weighed. First and foremost, I am thinking about what effect this will have on relations with the other member states, and above all on our relations with the Soviet Union. I would like to add—and it is common knowledge—that at the time of the takeover of power in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the new leadership in both countries hastened to assert that they do not question their countries' adherence to the Warsaw Pact.

The other thing is that the Warsaw Pact is in a process of transformation, clearly, since everywhere a turnaround is under way. I agree with the arguments that Hungary's security is not threatened, that there is no danger of attack—in other words, from the West. But, at the same time, it is also (?worthy of) attention that fairly serious tensions have developed around our country.

The next point is that because a sort of European—and what is more, more broadly, an international—balance of power is built on the relations of the two blocs one to the other, it is by no means a matter of indifference for us what will happen with this balance of power if one of the member states leaves, what (?disadvantage) this would have within the organization. It could launch a chain reaction. It could speed up the dissolution of the entire alliance system.

And then there is one other viewpoint: That apart from Soviet-Hungarian relations—because in fact we also have to keep in view what effect this will have on the present-day Soviet leadership [word indistinct] within its own country—(?what interests me is) how to assert national interests, how to take international realities into consideration. [passage omitted on other faction members' opinions]

### Defense Spokesman on USSR Troop Withdrawals

*LD0905221290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1805 GMT 9 May 90*

[Report on interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Gyorgy Keleti by Peter Marvanyi; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Finally, we have an interview with Colonel Gyorgy Keleti. Peter Marvanyi asked the Defense Ministry spokesman about the pace of the Soviet troop withdrawal and the justification of the Soviet objections. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Marvanyi] Recently Colonel General Burlakov stated that it is not certain that the schedule (of the withdrawal) can be kept. It is not certain that the final deadline can be kept.

[Keleti] I am surprised at General Burlakov's statement to PRAVDA, because some two weeks ago we sat together in the office of the Hungarian defense minister, and at that time Ferenc Karpati asked whether he [Burlakov] could see any obstructing factor, and General

Burlakov decidedly stated no; the troop withdrawal can be fulfilled; the pace can be maintained. [passage omitted]

[Marvanyi] According to Burlakov, the reason why the Soviet military installations in Hungary have got into such a terribly bad state—which actually is proved by recently published photographs as well—is because when the Soviet troops withdrew from them, the Hungarian troops did not take over guard duty at these installations.

[Keleti] This claim of the commander of the Southern Army Group relates to those barracks and installations which the Soviets left last year. At that time the Hungarian Army assumed the guard of all the barracks. Unfortunately, we also have experiences showing that this guard was not always on top of its task. Alternatively, it happened that unauthorized persons penetrated the barracks. I would still say that this is the exception rather than the rule, and these are not the reasons why the Soviet barracks are not in the best of condition. [passage omitted]

[Marvanyi] According to the Soviet side, the pace of the troop withdrawals and the economic agreements could also be impeded by the fact that the Hungarian side, according to certain interpretations, is not trying intensively enough to sell off the vacated installations.

[Keleti] I do not think that it is the Soviet's task to concern themselves with the sale and subsequent use of the vacated installations. Their task is to leave these installations in accordance with what is laid down in the agreement....

[Marvanyi, interrupting] Yes, but they say that the money coming in by this channel could be the basis for their accommodating in the Soviet Union the soldiers and the families who are leaving Hungary. Here it is a question of over 10,000 people who have no housing.

[Keleti] Again, I do not consider this an internal affair of the Hungarian Republic. It is the task of the Soviet Government and the leadership of the Soviet Army to resolve these issues. I believe that the account can only be settled after the complete withdrawal and the bit-by-bit accounting, which the Soviet experts propose and which the Soviet Government Commissioner is also fighting for, can not be carried out. [end recording]

## Increased Barter Trade With USSR Welcomed

*LD0905125790 Budapest MTI in English 1137 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 9, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In the first three months of this year, the Hungarian Ministry of Trade granted 320 million rubles' worth of licenses for barter trade with the Soviet Union.

Although this does not necessarily mean that deals will follow in every case, since Hungarian companies still have to find suitable goods on the Soviet market, barter trade between Hungary and the Soviet Union will very likely see a considerable increase this year.

In 1989, such trade was worth 170 million rubles on each side, well up on the 1988 figure of 100 million rubles, although a number of Soviet firms failed to meet all delivery obligations on time and only fulfilled them at the beginning of this year.

Canned food is the most common item of barter trade, followed by machinery. Last year over 800 Ikarus buses were sold to the Soviet Union in barter. Hungarian barter imports consist of basic materials, mainly iron and steel, chemical and textile industrial goods, and wood.

Ministry of Trade officials welcome this substantial increase in barter trade, not only because Hungarian products thus can find a market but also because Hungarian and Soviet manufacturers will deal directly with each other rather than having to go through interstate agreements.

This year's trade protocol between the Soviet Union and Hungary envisages turnover worth 7.6 billion rubles, made up of exports worth 3.7 billion rubles and imports worth 3.9 billion rubles, 10 per cent less than in 1988.

## Antall, Perez de Cuellar Discuss Domestic Policy

*LD0905212390 Budapest MTI in English 2040 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—Perez de Cuellar, secretary-general of the United Nations Organization, met Prime Minister-Designate Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), in the parliament building, Budapest, on Wednesday [9 May].

On conclusion of the meeting, Geza Jeszenszky, chairman of HDF's Foreign Affairs Committee, told MTI's correspondent that Jozsef Antall gave a detailed briefing about the home policy conditions in Hungary. He said that the final government list and programme would have been completed by late next week.

The talks also covered international issues, such as the central European situation, Hungary's relations with the neighbouring countries, and the minorities.

The U.N. secretary-general stressed that the problem of national minorities called for a solution with joint effort. Jozsef Antall pointed out that, parallel with the bilateral talks, Hungary was pressing for the international discussion of the issue. Perez de Cuellar expressed his agreement, and proposed the new Hungarian Government should present its concepts to the U.N.O.

The increasing burden the reception of refugees imposes on Hungary was also mentioned. Although the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees has a representation in Hungary, it would be important for the world organization to provide more effective support.

Perez de Cuellar pledged to examine how to assist Hungary to a greater extent in improving the provision of refugees.

Concerning the political transition, the sides agreed that Hungary succeeded in carrying out the change in political system with the least tension in central Europe.

In view of the Hungarian events over the past two weeks, Perez de Cuellar was of the opinion that Hungary's home policy life was proceeding on the right course, and the current developments ensure the home political stability indispensable to transition.

Jozsef Antall pointed out Hungary would continue to provide many- sided support for the U.N.O. and actively participate in its work. The idea that a larger number of Hungarian experts could be involved in the activity of U.N.O. also came up during the talks.

The world organization would like to see more and more women represented in its various bodies and relies on Hungary's support for U.N. efforts along this line.

### Nemeth on East Europe at Dinner for De Cuellar

*LD1005053290 Budapest MTI in English 2117 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—The U.N. secretary-general visited the headquarters of the Hungarian U.N. association on Wednesday afternoon [9 May], and in the evening Acting Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and his wife hosted a gala dinner in honour of Perez de Cuellar and his wife in the parliament building.

In his toast, Miklos Nemeth said it was indicative of the novel type of international relations that more and more states came to attach crucial importance to the use of peaceful means, multilateral negotiations and compromises in settling international problems. He called the U.N. experience indispensable in this respect.

Further on, Miklos Nemeth pointed out that current efforts to eliminate the monolitic political systems imposed on central and Eastern Europe provided more favourable possibilities than ever before for the emergence of a Europe based on the principles laid down in the U.N. Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

Perez de Cuellar said in his toast that the countries of the continent, in East and West alike, could open a new chapter in their history which may lead to the construction of a new, single Europe.

The U.N. secretary-general pointed out the major part Hungary had played in this field. He said the Hungarian people and their leaders gave an honourable example as to the peaceful transition to democracy, an example which will hopefully be followed by other countries in various regions of the world.

### Diplomatic Relations Established With Swaziland

*LD0905173490 Budapest MTI in English 1643 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] New York, May 9 (MTI)—The Republic of Hungary and the Kingdom of Swaziland have agreed to establish diplomatic relations on ambassadorial level.

The relevant protocol has been signed in New York by the permanent U.N. mission heads of the two countries.

### Deputy on Closer Ties With Magyars Abroad

*LD0905133390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0820 GMT 9 May 90*

[Speech by Deputy Miklos Tamas-Gaspar at National Assembly in Budapest—live relay]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, esteemed house. The [Alliance of] Free Democrats would like to submit another parliamentary resolution. In our belief this parliamentary resolution may meet with a wide consensus in parliament. I would like to briefly outline the essence of this draft resolution. Obviously, this draft will then have to go back to the committees concerned—that is, to the foreign affairs and the minority committees—for discussion; however, according to my view, it is necessary to outline the essence of it now.

The resolution would declare that the Hungarian National Assembly, as it considers the situation of the Magyar national minorities living in neighboring countries to be alarming, perceives the unease of Hungarian and international public opinion, because of the nationalist emotions which flared up in Central and East Europe. It feels responsibility for the fate of the young democracies in Central and East Europe and for balance and security in Europe. It calls upon the Hungarian national government to start negotiations with the governments of those countries bordering our homeland where Magyars live, with a view to making contracts with them on the mutual protection of minorities, following the example of those agreements already made between Austria and Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia, and Yugoslavia and Italy. The Hungarian National Assembly is thus making a historic proposal to our neighbors. Hungary regards its borders and the sovereignty of her neighbors as inviolable. Precisely in the defense of the status quo, Hungary considers the institutional and contractual assurance of the individual and collective rights of national minorities living in the area as indispensable. Hungary is ready to give its minorities all those rights which it claims for the Magyars beyond her borders. The Hungarian National Assembly expects similar steps from the neighboring countries, with whom our country would like to coexist in close friendship. The Hungarian National Assembly appeals to the neighboring countries to follow the fate of minorities in Hungary with attention to and support for their education and culture to the best of their ability. At the same

time it intends to help the mother-tongue education of Magyar national minorities living abroad in a contractually settled way.

We consider it a basic national interest of our country that the Magyardom living beyond our borders can be a loyal component of the neighboring democracies without conflicts of conscience; that it should not be forced to emigrate, and that it should not become the victim of anti-Magyar, chauvinistic policies.

Our country, beyond the previous declaration of general principles, would like to establish the cultural autonomy of national minorities in Central and East Europe by means of a series of bilateral contracts, and thereby contribute to the democratic development of the area, based on peaceful cooperation. We stretch our right hand of peace to our neighbours; we want to put an end to the tragic historical cul-de-sac caused by short-sighted nationalism. Thank you for your attention. [tumultuous applause]

### Assembly Deputy Outlines Constitutional Proposals

*LD0905102690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0835 GMT 9 May 90*

[Speech by Mrs. Imre Konya, on behalf of the Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Committee, to the National Assembly in Budapest—live relay]

[Excerpts] Esteemed fellow deputies, esteemed House. The current constitutional amendment that the constitutional committee—permit me not to say its whole, long name—is submitting to the esteemed house, as all of you know, is part of a package plan to amend the constitution. Moreover, this amendment is the smaller part of the package plan. The objective of the entire amendment of the constitution is to create basic legal conditions for the operation of a parliamentary democracy. [passage omitted] Today's amendment affects the part of the package plan which pertains to the formation of a government. It is necessary for us to discuss and adopt it quickly, so that a government, adapting to a constitution, which satisfies the rules of the game of parliamentary democracy, can be formed.

The essence of this amendment is that we have to create the conditions for responsibility in government decisions. The current legal regulation, in which the parliamentary right to elect extends to every member of government, obscures responsibility, because it makes it impossible or difficult for the premier, who is responsible for the government's work, to decide with whom he can work together. On the other hand, parliament, by having a say in the election of the individual ministries, properly speaking, accepts partial responsibility. This situation is not good by any means. What better accords with the rules of parliamentary democracy is the scheme contained in the proposal, by which parliament's right to elect is extended to the premier, and it is up to him to choose with whom he wants to work together, and who the person is for whom he is able and wants to accept responsibility.

This scheme, of course, entails the necessary change of regulations on no-confidence motions. This is contained in the second, larger portion of the package plan. I emphasize that we should now like to change only and exclusively the regulations that are necessary for a government to be formed.

The proposal, like the current regulation, provides that the National Assembly simultaneously decide on the election of the premier and the adoption of the government program. Thus, the government program does not and cannot amount to a detailed program. It only means that the premier must have a general plan concerning the tasks. He must know what he intends to do. He must choose the members of his government in accordance with his plan. On the other hand, this brief program or plan outline is necessary because parliament must know, before it makes its decision, what plans the future premier has.

This would be the most subsantive part of the amendment. Apart from this, the amendment affects the ministers. According to the current scheme, there are two kinds of minister: minister and minister of state, where the minister of state is slightly above the ministers in some areas. The proposal would change this distinction, so that the ministers would be the same, they would be equivalent to one another. However, since in certain cases there might be a need to perform set tasks, it would introduce the institution of ministers without portfolio to designate a person of ministerial status.

The third substantive proposed amendment to the constitution pertains to a law, a separate law, containing a list of the ministries. This in essence means that as compared to the scheme effective up to now, it would not be necessary for there to be a two-thirds majority for the law on the list of ministries to be adopted; I emphasize that this would not be today, but only when it comes into force. Therefore, today, a two-thirds majority will be necessary for this. Thus, with regard to its being a government activity, it should be necessary for parliament to adopt the list of ministries not with a two-thirds majority, in the future, but only in accordance with the normal rules of voting. [passage omitted]

### National Assembly Approves Law Listing Ministries

*LD0905203190 Budapest MTI in English 2000 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—In Budapest on Wednesday [9 May], MPs adopted the bill on listing the ministries with 278 votes for, 20 votes against and 29 abstentions.

Under the constitutional law coming into force at the same time with the formation of the Council of Ministers, the Republic of Hungary will have the following 13 ministries: Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Ministry of Environmental Protection, Ministry of Transport and Telecommunication, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Culture and Public Education, Ministry of International Economic Relations, Ministry of Social Welfare and Ministry of Finance.

When the law becomes effective, the National Planning Office will be wound up and its functions and scope of authority taken over by the Ministry of Finance. From this time on, the National Price Office will also be controlled by the finance minister.

The Council of Ministers is obliged to present to parliament the proposed law amendments necessary for defining the ministries' new scope of activity within 120 days from the introduction of the above law.

According to the legislators, this law only gives the outlines of the basic structure of the new government system, since the 120-day deadline furnishes an opportunity for a thorough preparation of the ministries' new order of organization and the redistribution of their functions.

### Several Committees Meet Prior to Session

*LD0905130790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpt] Several parliamentary committees met before the National Assembly session began. Matyas Eorsi, SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] deputy, left the session of the Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Committee after he said that it is impossible to make a genuine decision on the amendment proposals submitted immediately before the plenary session. [passage omitted]

### Defense Committee Holds Founding Session

*LD0905135590 Budapest MTI in English 1250 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 3 (MTI)—The defense committee of the Hungarian National Assembly held its founding session on Wednesday morning [9 May].

Erno Raffay (Hungarian Democratic Forum), deputy chairman of the committee, said he would like the committee to receive a suitable license to control the Ministry of Defense and the country's defense force.

He termed it absolutely essential for the defense committee to receive sufficient information from the ministry, and for committee members to be thoroughly aware of the country's defense capabilities.

Mr. Raffay said national defense should be free from party political fights.

The sharpest debate emerged regarding the personal composition of the staff of officers.

Political consideration should not be enforced. But professional suitability should be the key element, it was stated.

Further, it was set down that the military leadership is also a political matter, meaning the reliability and loyalty of members of the military leadership should be a decisive issue.

### National Assembly Begins 9 May Session

*LD0905102290*

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0800 GMT begins a live relay of the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest. Reception is good. The session commences with Deputy Speaker Matyas Szuros in the chair. Szuros greets those present and declares the session open. A roll call is held and 350 are present.

Szuros confirms that Miklos Haraszti of the Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ, has been declared the winner of the seat in Budapest's 11th District. Thus, Dr. (Endre Bilek) moves up, occupying a seat on the regional list for the SZDSZ. Szuros continues: The Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Committee has submitted bills concerning constitutional amendment, the listing of ministries, and the amendment of the law on passing legislation. A decision is made on the urgent debate requested for these, as they were not submitted within the necessary 30 days before the session. A vote is taken and the house approves this; thus the bills will be discussed today.

Zoltan Kiraly of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, MDF, has handed in an interpellation to the defense and trade ministers concerning the controversial alleged sale by Hungary of Soviet arms to the United States. This will be dealt with at the end of the session.

Miklos Vasarhelyi, Miklos Tamas-Gaspar, and Tamas Fodor ask permission to speak. Vasarhelyi says the SZDSZ parliamentary group is submitting a proposal to be discussed by the Foreign Affairs Committee and then submitted to the house. Their proposal is connected with the 1956 Hungarian Government withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact.

Miklos Tamas-Gaspar says the SZDSZ wishes to submit another draft resolution. The proposal is connected with the situation of Magyar minorities in neighboring countries, and the international concern aroused by the situation of minorities and the rise of nationalism. The government should commence negotiations with the neighboring countries with Magyar minorities, with a view to signing some kind of agreement with them on this subject.

Tamas Fodor, SZDSZ, asks for an urgent debate on commissioning an investigatory committee to look into the Axel Springer acquisition of numerous papers in Hungary, which took place amid rather murky circumstances. Szuros says these subjects will be placed on the agenda for the next session, and will be discussed prior to this by the relevant committees. He then outlines the agenda, and the house approves the agenda.

Szuros recalls two proposals from the last session, which he has passed on to the relevant committees for discussion. These concern no smoking, and the extension of the law on those who were deprived of citizenship, to those already deceased.

The first agenda point raised is the debate on the draft constitutional amendment. Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Committee representative Mrs. Imre Konya submits the bill. She says this is part of a package aimed at creating the legal basis for the functioning of a democratic parliament. Today's part affects the formation of a government and must be debated urgently so that the government can be formed in accordance with the rules of a parliamentary democracy. In effect it gives the prime minister, not the parliament, the right to choose the ministers. A proposed amendment has arrived from the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) representative, which the committee has rejected.

### Reviews Constitutional Matters

*LD0905231090*

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0843 GMT on 9 May continues its live relay of the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest. A General and detailed debate is held on the constitutional committee bill. Dr. Peter Hack of the SZDSZ is the first to speak. He outlines the importance of this matter, for the stability of the country and for founding the bases of democracy in the country. He shares worries about another amendment to the Constitution, but says this is necessary for the country, thus asks that the debate be carried out on this matter. He says placing responsibility for chosing the ministers onto the prime minister is in line with other West European parliamentary democracies. He asks the Assembly to accept this bill, and says the SZDSZ supports it.

Dr. Pal Vastagh, HSP, outlines their proposed amendment. They agree that governmental security and stability are necessary, but these apparently technical amendments contain more than is immediately apparent. He expresses fears regarding matters going through on the basis of inter-party agreements (in this case, MDF-SZDSZ), and also that parliament will be subordinated to the government in the new parliamentary system. This is a step toward division of power, the results of which cannot be seen. Thus, they ask for guarantees which maintain the role, influence, and weight of the parliament. They propose, in connection with choosing ministers, listing ministries, that the government program, including the role intended for ministries, be known before the parliament debates and has to approve this. They also propose that committee hearings be stipulated by law.

Istvan Szigethy, SZDSZ, says this is an extraordinary situation; the matter must go through in the interests of the government's formation. He draws attention to an inaccuracy in the text, which leaves open the number of ministers without portfolio who can be appointed. His proposal would set a maximum number.

Dr. Jozsef Torgyan, Independent Smallholders Party, (FKGP), says his party's group advises that the bill be accepted without amendment. However, they are aware of the population's anxiety that the first matter the new assembly is dealing with immediately is a constitutional amendment. He explains that this is needed to proceed on the path toward constitutional democracy. Legislative and executive powers must be separated. Their stance is that the task of listing the ministries is for the prime minister, but fear that this significant change could cause serious disruptions in the state budget.

Dr. Imre Konya, MDF, replies to Pal Vastagh's proposal. He says his worries about political agreements and government rising above parliament stem from old reflexes in the one-party system. He says inter-party agreements are a framework, but the ultimate decisions always lies with the National Assembly. This new system has built-in guarantees which ensure the primacy of the Assembly.

Imre Mecs, SZDSZ, says it must not be forgotten that this Constitution is a touched up version of the Stalinist 1949 Constitution, which has been altered slightly through the national coordinating talks. The new National Assembly must create a new constitution; this is not the real one yet. He and his fellow deputies support the bill. He advises Vastagh's proposal be rejected.

The general debate is concluded. First to speak in the detailed debate is Dr. Gyula Kis, MDF, who opposes Vastagh's proposed amendment, as this would make the functioning of government almost impossible. Istvan Vass, SzDSz, supports Szigethy's proposal to determine the maximum number of ministers without portfolio. Dr. Imre Konya, MDF, says Szigethy's proposal should be distributed in writing before any more discussion.

Szuros greets Perez de Cuellar and entourage who have just entered the parliament.

Szuros says Konya's point is correct. The debate is concluded. The session is adjourned, as the Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Committee must discuss the proposed amendments. No indication is given of when session will resume.

### Votes on Constitution Amendments

*LD0905121190*

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1120 GMT on 9 May resumes its live relay of the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest. Reception is good. National Assembly proceedings resume. Mrs. Imre Konya is asked to reply to the debate on the bill to amend the Constitution.

Mrs. Konya takes the floor. She rejects a proposal from HSP Deputy Pal Vastagh that the decision be made simultaneously on the prime minister, the government program, and the list of ministries. She also asks the Assembly to reject this proposal. She voices reservations regarding another proposal from Vastagh, that Assembly committees interrogate potential ministers before their appointment, and says that such a provision should not be included in the Constitution. Deputy Istvan Szigethy of SZDSZ proposed a separate law designating the maximum number of ministers without portfolio; Mrs. Konya also rejects this. A compromise would be for a stand to be taken in the matter of future ministers' interrogation by committees, but this would not be included in the Constitution.

Istvan Szigethy takes the floor to express the minority opinion in the Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Committee. He maintains his proposal for a law designating the maximum number of ministers without portfolio.

Attendance is taken before vote on constituional amendment. There are 353 deputies present voting on two amendments to the bill submitted by Vastagh. First, that the Assembly should decide simultaneously on electing the prime minister, accepting the government program and the list of ministries: rejected with 28 votes in favor, 314 votes against, and 15 abstentions. Second, that committees give a hearing of minister-designates before their appointment: rejected with 38 votes in favor, 295 against, and 24 abstentions.

Then a vote on the proposal by Istvan Szigethy, that the law on ministries' list should contain an upper limit on the number of ministers without portfolio: rejected with 125 votes in favor, 205 votes against, and 29 abstentions. Then a vote on the bill in entirety: adopted with 308 votes in favor, 14 votes against, and 37 abstentions.

There is an announcement that committee meetings will be held during the lunch break. A lunch-break, scheduled to last until 1300 GMT, is announced.

### Discusses 'Social Debate'

*LD0905135390*

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1300 GMT on 9 May resumes its live relay of the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest. Reception is good. The session commences with Deputy Speaker Vincze Voros in the chair. The next point is the amendment of the 1987 No. 11 law on legislation. The draft is submitted by the representative of the Constitutional, Legislative, and Judicial Committee, Mrs. Imre Konya.

Mrs. Konya takes the floor. The proposal is brief. Sections 33-36 states that bills affecting a wide range of the population must be put to social debate. This is what they wish to invalidate: that it no longer be compulsory to hold social debate, as this would be needed before virtually every bill. Section 19 of the law ensures that citizens can have a say in the bills. They propose that the compulsory nature of an official social debate be eliminated, but a social debate can be held if deemed necessary in a particular question. It does not exclude participation by the people.

A proposed amendment from the HSP has been submitted by Mrs. Kosa. She did not debate that Sections 33-36 be invalidated, her proposal is a supplementary suggestion, that another regulation be adopted which would stipulate that interest representations and social organizations can put their views before National Assembly committees. The committee does not advise acceptance of this, as the present regulations also make this possible; this proposal is not worded precisely enough and is unnecessary, Konya concludes.

General debate begins. Dr. Istvan Meszaros, SZDSZ, on behalf of the SZDSZ parliamentary group, agrees with what was said by Mrs. Kosa. This section tried to remedy an incorrect situation, in the absence of true parliamentary democracy. Now that there is a freely elected parliament, it is not necessary to maintain this institutionalized social debate, as parliament itself is representative. He supports this bill. He then submits a proposed amendment, that bills should be published in a bills gazette, as a supplement to the official gazette (KOZLONY) in which new laws are published. This would provide greater access for all. Mrs. Kosa, HSP, outlines why she considers necessary her proposed amendment, as detailed by Mrs. Konya.

Bela Csepe, Christian Democratic People's Party, KDNP, says social debate was a creation of the party-state. At present there is true social debate in the press, at events, in the whole country. Thus, as a legal institution, social debate must be eliminated, but this does not mean that society is not listened to. He does not agree with bills being published in a gazette; they can be aired in the press, etc., but there is no need to institutionalize it. Dr. Istvan Varsany, MDF, says he will express his views in the committee debate on the proposed amendments.

Attila Nagy, HSP, then says there are worries in the country about some initiatives which appear to restrict rights, whether they exist formally or in reality. He says this parliament does not exactly cover the division of interests and views of the Hungarian nation. The MDF majority is a social consensus, a social compromise in itself, due to the electoral system. Interests are multiplying and splitting all the time in the country. True, the government cannot always undertake to organize social debate, but a guarantee can be given by the National Assembly that experts in the area affected are listened to. The general debate is concluded.

The session is suspended while the proposed amendments are discussed by the Legal Committee and the justice minister.

### Debates Formation of Ministries

*LD0905223290*

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1440 GMT on 9 May continues its live relay of the hungarian national assembly session in budapest. Reception is good. The reporter recalls work of the National Assembly so far. Vincze Voros is in the chair. Voros greets the deputy speaker of the FRG parliament, who is visiting the National Assembly.

Mrs. Konya appeals to the National Assembly to adopt the bill which she submitted and to reject the modification proposed by Mrs. Kosa. A vote is conducted on the modification proposal submitted by Mrs. Kosa, that social organizations should have the right to state opinions at National Assembly Committee sessions: it is rejected with 37 votes in favor, 286 votes against, and 15 abstentions.

A vote is conducted on the bill to abolish the compulsory nature of social debate: it is accepted with 278 votes in favor, 10 votes against, and 33 abstentions.

Matyas Szuros takes the chair. He introduces the next agenda point, which is a bill on the listing of ministries. The bill is submitted by MDF deputy Laszlo Salamon on behalf of the National Assembly Legislative Committee.

Salamon says that the bill on the listing of ministries is aimed at modernizing the central organs of Hungarian administration and the government organiation. The main view which has been considered is that of being pro-European, which constitutes a significant step toward complete constitutional statehood, as well as paying attention to a renewal of Hungarian legal traditions. This is also reflected in the endeavor to give ministers full responsibility, thereby eliminating a situation where alongside the ministries other organizations conduct government business. This is reflected in the provision replacing the state office of wages and labor with a labor ministry, and placing the prices office under the leadership of the finance minister. He expounds on the semantics of some traditional ways of naming Hungarian ministries. He explains the semantics of names such as ministry of public education and ministry of agriculture. Issues such as the setting up of an independent ministry for international economic relations are conceptional in nature. He goes over some obscure aspects concerning the jurisdictions of various ministries, and points out that the bill does not contain a precise delineation of these. Salamon asks the National Assembly to adopt the law.

Szuros says that a general and detailed debate must be held. The first contributor is Miklos Farago Hanko of the SZDSZ. Hanko says that the SZDSZ would abstain from voting on the bill if it did not require a two-thirds majority for adoption. He criticizes the idea of combining the economy and treasury under a ministry of finance, as well as the lack of clarity concerning the tasks of a ministry of international economic relations. He queries whether it is good to combine social and health affairs under a ministry of people's welfare. He asks whether this ministerial structure would really contribute to the development of a market economy.

Lajos Bokros of the HSP says that all of hanko's remarks in fact figured in a modification which he had submitted to the National Assembly committee. He says there is now an opportunity to further improve the ministerial structure as contained in the bill; this should be done now, rather than waiting for this structure to be in place. He goes on to make some concrete comments, for example, how bad an idea it would be to put the prices office under the ministry of finance.

Mihaly Raday of the SZDSZ speaks about the ministries of construction in other countries, as well as in Hungary in the past. He underlines the importance of the conservation of buildings of historical interest.

Karoly Lotz of the SZDSZ speaks about the issue of technical development. He does not feel it is a reassuring solution to place technical development under a ministry of industry and trade.

A detailed debate on the bill is to begin, but beforehand an adjournment is called.

### Continues Ministries' Debate

*LD0905190290*

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1610 GMT on 9 May continues its live relay of the Hungarian national assembly session in Budapest. Reception is good. Matyas Szuros announces the continuation of work. A detailed debate begins on the bill listing ministries.

On behalf of the committee submitting the bill, Istvan Balsai of the MDF continues to support what has been submitted. Tamas Katona of the MDF speaks about the conservation of buildings of historical interest. It would amount to a devaluation of work in this field if the inspectorate for buildings of historical interest were to be placed in a mixed ministry, such as the Construction, Telecommunications and Transport Ministry. Szuros notes that several deputies still want to contribute to the debate, however time is passing. Does the National Assembly want to continue work. The deputies reply in the affirmative. Lajos Bokros again argues for his modification proposal to the bill. A MDF deputy asks for clarification of the detail in written version of modification proposal put forward by Lajos Bokros. The detailed debate is closed. Dr. Laszlo Salamon, who submitted the bill, replies to the debate. He expounds on how the MDF interprets a prospective Finance Ministry, which would be economic in character. Regarding the Hungarian National Bank, the SZDSZ-MDF agreement lays down that constitutional laws will be put forward to parliament regarding the status of this bank.

The voting begins. Szuros notes that a two-thirds vote in favor is necessary for adoption. Enough deputies, 326, are present for a vote.

There is a vote on modifying proposals submitted by Bokros, that instead of the International Economics Ministry there should be the Economics Ministry: it is rejected with 76 votes in favor, 210 votes against, and 40 abstentions. A second proposal, that the national prices office should operate independently until the national office on competition is set up is rejected, with 81 votes in favor, 210 against, and 34 abstentions. A vote on the bill in its entirety, setting up 13 ministries, is adopted with 278 votes in favor, 20 against, and 29 abstentions.

Zoltan Kiraly takes the floor to submit his interpellation to the ministers of defense and trade concerning news reports of Hungarian arms sales. He asks what legal grounds there are for the creation and operation of limited companies such as Aviaspace and ANT he refers to recent U.S. news reports that Hungarians have engaged in arms trade with the United States. Does the Defense Ministry or Ministry of Trade know of such arms deals with the United States?

Trade Minister Tamas Beck takes the floor to reply. He outlines the history of Aviaspace: it was registered in November 1989. It deals with the foreign trade of commercial goods. Aviaspace received an export permit for the export of a gas turbine, which is on the trade minisry's records. However, there is no indication of the transfer of such a gas turbine. The subject is still being investigated.

Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati, acknowledges the concern which the news reports on arms sales have aroused. He affirms that there have been no illegal arms deals. Why has the affair raised such a storm? He thinks that the news reports might be connected to internal machinations in the USSR, and the Hungarian prosecutors' office has asked for clarification from the USSR's supreme prosecutor's office. Regarding THE WASHINGTON POST reports on arms sales, no Hungarian arms have been found in U.S. arsenals. Hungary did sell four MiG-21 PF's wich had been taken out of operation, to a U.S. businesman, through a foreign trade enterprise.

Kiraly is asked whether he accepts the ministers' replies. He says that he hopes the reply by Karpati is reassuring for the National Assembly, too. He asks for Beck's reply to be supplemented in writing. With these provisions, he accepts the replies.

The deputies vote on whether they accept the ministers' replies. They are accepted with 161 votes in favor, 49 votes against, and 90 abstentions. Before concluding work, Szuros announces that the National Assembly will meet again on 15 May at 0800 GMT, and on 22 May at 0800 GMT. There is a final discussion of procedural issues and announcements regarding the work of committees. The National Assembly session ends.

## Parliament Session Ends; To Meet Again 15 May

*LD0905201490 Budapest MTI in English 1919 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliamentary session came to an end in Budapest on Wednesday evening [9 May].

The next plenary session has been convened for May 15, Tuesday. The agenda will include discussion of a bill on the legal status and responsibilitis of ministers and state secretaries, regulation of the postuhumous citizenship of former Prime Minister Imre Nagy and his associates, a draft proposal on the relationship between the Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring states, and a discussion about the setting up of a fact-finding committee on the sale of the press.

A Hungarian section of the Inter-Parliamentary Union will probably be formed after the session.

Afterwards, Parliament will meet again on May 22 when the prime minister will be elected, the government's programme discussed and the members of the government introduced.

## Coalition Problem Over Presidental Election

*LD0905123790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpts] "Will the Christian Democrats [KDNP] leave?" asked this morning's [9 May] NEPSZABADSAG on its front page; that is, that they leave the coalition because they do not agree in everything with the accord between the Democratic forum [MDF] and the Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. This is what the article indicated. Tibor Fuzessy, leader of the KDNP faction in parliament, talked about this with Peter Szelenyi. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Fuzessy] The faction session that was held the day before yesterday and not yesterday, naturally reviewed the details of the agreement between the MDF and SZDSZ, and my view is that this agreement can have an effect on the coalition under any circumstances. Such a stance, according to which the KDNP would leave the coalition, or more correctly, that it would not enter into the coalition, or that it would even suspend the coalition negotiations, has not been taken.

[Szelenyi] The way it is put impies you were offended by the expansion of the jurisdiction, the power of the president.

[Fuzessy] We have indeed held negotiations about whether the jurisdiction of the president should be a weak, a semi-powerful or a powerful one, taking into account the planned innovations of the MDF-SZDSZ agreement in this sphere. Even in the current Constitution, we are talking about a semi-powerful jurisdiction, and this jurisdiction would be strengthened by the addition of certain features, according to the above-mentioned pact, because the members of the government would be appointed by the president of the republic. We have no quarrel with even this added power. What presents the problem for us is whether, in view of such a level of presidential power, it is not more correct to elect the president by parliament. I do not think that this would be such an issue as to produce a break between the MDF and the KDNP. [end recording]

## Skubiszewski Explains Lithuania Policy

*LD1005082990 Warsaw PAP in English 0754 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] London, May 10—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski who is on an unofficial visit to Great Britain, was interviewed by the BBC World Service on the situation in Lithuania.

Poland, he said, was the first country to haved published a declaration on the Lithuanian question, friendly to Lithuania. In our view talks should be held between Moscow and Vilnius. Without talks, without finding some arrangements, Lithuanian situation cannot be solved.

Poland would be willing to supply some humanitarian help but this is not a practical possibility, because at a certain moment the Soviet authorities closed the frontier between Poland and Lithuania. We protested against it, we suggested talks with Moscow but for the time being the frontier remains closed.

Asked whether he saw Poland as a mediator, Polish foreign minister said: I see it always but to mediate you must have consent of the two parties and that consent is not available, because in the eyes of Moscow the problem is an internal one and a mediation by a third country is not necessary.

Negotiations are possible, said Skubiszewski, provided the Lithuanians take a step backwards, which may help their future position. Sometimes if you proceed too quickly, you may destroy your act.

Minister Skubiszewski who got his PhD in international law at Harvard University and taught it at Columbia University, New York, all Souls College at Oxford and University of Geneva, gave his interview to the BBC immediately after his Wednesday night lecture delivered in London at the invitation of the British branch of the International Law Association on a very relevant topic—"Unilateral Acts of State in International Law and Relations." The British Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay of Clashfern was in the audience.

## Soviet Troops Vacate Swidnica, Move to Legnica

*LD0905184990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] The residents of Swidnica will gain 1,000 apartments, vacated by the Soviet troops. In accordance with Premier Mazowiecki's decision, the headquarters of the Northern Group of Soviet troops is being moved to Legnica, for the moment. Today there are 8,000 troops and families of officers in Swidnica. After the move, only two small units will remain, and the town, in addition to the apartments, will take over the barracks, a hospital, a school, and a cultural institution.

## Baker's Talks in Warsaw Assessed

*AU0905174290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 May 90 p 2*

[Krzysztof Leski report: "A Political Sprint" ]

[Text] Ryszard Wojtkowski, director of the premier's Cabinet Office, told me that during Sunday's 75-minute talk between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki (this talk was supposed to have lasted 45 minutes), Baker said he had been assured by the two German governments that the trilateral talks between Poland, the FRG, and the GDR on the text of a border treaty should be over before July. Apparently he also said that the United States is counting on a solution to this issue by the parties concerned.

Wladyslaw Klaczynski, Foreign Ministry spokesman, said it is not necessary to complete work on the treaty before the Paris talks, but it must be completed before German unification or, to be more exact, before the adoption of the concluding document of the two-plus-four talks.

Asked by Baker whether declarations by the FRG and GDR parliaments on the subject of the Polish-German border might not be of greater significance for Poland than an initialing of a treaty by these countries' governments, Premier Mazowiecki is supposed to have replied: "We are not going to argue over technical details."

Foreign Minister Skubiszewski also made it understood that a formal initialing of this treaty is not necessary. "As far as I know, the resolutions of the Bundestag and GDR Volkskammer will go further than previous resolutions, and that is good," he told journalists. Nevertheless, referring to the need to sign this treaty, he added: "Declarations are political acts. We are also concerned about a legal settlement, so that the beginning of cooperation with the new Germany right after unification is not burdened by the subject of borders."

According to Wojtkowski, the Baker-Mazowiecki talks reached a "certain agreement" concerning Germany's membership in NATO. Both sides said they fear a neutral Germany and that they want to keep Germany within European structures. They also want to preserve the U.S. presence in Germany. Moscow has rejected this plan so far.

"The Polish no to German neutrality has a bearing on every European country, including the USSR," said Bronislaw Geremek, who also met with Baker.

However, in a formal sense, Poland, which is opposed to German neutrality, is not openly speaking out in favor of Germany's membership in NATO.

During their Sunday talks with Baker, all the Polish representatives said Minister Skubiszewski would be able to discuss in Paris everything that is important for Poland and its security. However, James Baker mentioned in public only the question of borders, a fact

confirmed by dispatches by news agencies from Bonn. According to the Polish Foreign Ministry, "the invitation to Paris promises that the Polish foreign minister will also be able to touch upon issues that are connected with the border issue."

In Warsaw, Baker also spoke to President Jaruzelski (who suggested that that round of the two-plus-four talks that involve Polish participation ought to take place in Warsaw), and to Lech Walesa.

### Balcerowicz Holds Debt Talks in U.S.

*LD0905124890 Warsaw PAP in English 1145 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Washington, May 9—In talks with Polish Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, leaders and members of the U.S. Congress voiced yesterday their understanding for the burden of Poland's debt and the will to back Polish strivings to reduce this burden.

The vice premier told a press conference that Poland wanted a 80 per cent reduction of her foreign debt. In the afternoon, he discussed the matter with Dan Rostenkowski of the House of Representatives and Senators Robert Dole, Joseph Biden, Paul Simon and Bill Bradley.

In the evening, the matter was under discussion at a dinner given by the influential Bretton Woods Committee.

### GDR Police Detain Polish Customs Officers

*LD0905190890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Polish pigs: Get off the train—With such verbal abuse and a threat to use batons, the East German policemen attacked two Polish customs officers on the Berolina train traveling to Berlin. The customs officers were defending a woman passenger, who had a ticket paid for in East German marks and from whom the East German ticket collector demanded—without any grounds—an additional fare in West German marks. Polish customs officers were detained; they were released only after the intervention of the consul of the Polish Republic.

### French Radio Concludes Warsaw Programs

*LD0905091990 Warsaw PAP in English 0817 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 9—Radio France Internationale [RFI] broadcast its programs from Warsaw between May 2 and 8. On the final day of the emission, some of the programs were broadcast in French via satellite from France.

As one of co-authors of the programs I am very satisfied. Thanks to the visit to Warsaw we had an occasion to meet with representatives of various groups of Polish society. Head of the Polish section of RFI Kazimierz Piekarec told PAP.

RFI's programs included talks with Polish Premier Taduesz Mazowiecki, Lech Walesa, Bronislaw Geremek, a number of ministers and popular figures of Polish public life.

### Independent Radio Station To Start Up

*LD0805200990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 8 May 90*

[Text] In a few months we will hear the first Polish independent radio station. Today GAZETA WYBORCZA signed an agreement with Paris International Service, which will supply the most modern technical equipment and will provide help in training journalists and technicians. The Newspaper on the Air [Radio- Gazeta] will broadcast several hours of programs in Polish and relay French radio programs from Paris on VHF.

### Student Unrest, Strikes Throughout Country

*LD0905195290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpt] Today was the day of student unrest and strikes throughout educational establishments in Poland.

Nothing about us without us—such are, among others, the students' demands. At the Warsaw Technical University there was a strike alert. There was a sit-in at the SGPIS [Main School of Planning and Statistics] and the SGGW [Main Agricultural School] in Warsaw. A rally was held at the Technical University, attended by the deputy minister of national education.

Gdansk: A warning strike was held at the Gdansk Technical University in protest against the draft law on higher education.

Wroclaw: A rally was held outside the Wroclaw University expressing displeasure with the draft law. Beginning tomorrow, a sit-in will begin here.

Katowice: Six departments of the Silesian University are on strike. Their main demand is the withdrawal of the draft law on higher education. The students also demand that the rector be fired. [passage omitted on interviews with students who express their dissatisfaction with the draft law]

### Document Urges Improvements in Public Life

*LD0905135190 Warsaw PAP in English 1216 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 9—"Solidarity has created model activity in favour of the nation and human rights, freedom, truth and the construction of public institutions. We, however, see certain ills in public life that most frequently are the aftermath of the communist dictatorship," reads a document on public life in Poland.

The document was signed by 44 deputies, senators and cultural and public figures at a meeting held in Cracow yesterday following an initiative of Jerzy Turowicz who

is editor-in-chief of the Cracow-based TUGODNIK POWSZECHNY Catholic weekly.

"There is no other road for Poland but consolidation of democratic institutions. Old phantoms of nationalism are reviving in post-communist societies of Central Europe. Political campaigns launched in recent months brought mottoes of national hatred, anti-Semitism and chauvinism. We are saying with all our might that this runs counter to our ideals and damages Poland's reputation in the world.

"Policies must be guided by clear moral principles which place welfare of man, nation and the regained statehood above particular interests. The policies carried out by Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government follow such principles. We voice our confidence in and our support for the government," the document said.

### Walesa Blamed for Invitation Disagreement

*LD0905152290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] The Western Pomorze regional board of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity has issued a statement in which it criticizes the deliberations of the second national congress of NSZZ Solidarity in Gdansk. Despite the decision of most of the delegates, who expressed themselves to be in favor of inviting the former members of the National Commission and the National Audit Commission as guests, none of these persons received the appropriate invitation and was not even in Gdansk at the time. The statement asserted that the moral responsibility for this infringement on the will of the clear majority of the delegates, expressed at this, after all, highest union forum, is borne by Lech Walesa.

### April Economic Statistics Report Released

*LD1005054590 Warsaw Pap in English 2220 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 9—The GUS Main Statistical Bureau has issued a report on the performance of the Polish economy last month. Excerpts:

Following the collapse of output this January, the drop has held steady at 30 percent since February as compared with the same months last year.

The results of falling demand is also visible in the supply and raw materials industries. For the first time a slight increase has been noted in the food-processing and fuel industry over this March.

In the five key sectors of the socialized economy the average remuneration totalled 754,567 zlotys and was by 4.8 percent higher than in March.

All seems to indicate that the 6-percent forecasts of the Ministry of Finance as concerns price hikes were too optimistic. GUS estimates the price growth rate between 7-9 percent, and even to 10 percent for food.

As goes for the financial situation of enterprises, their economic viability averages 36 percent.

In the foreign trade field, Poland had a surplus of over 1.4 billion rubles in trade with East Bloc countries and over 1.2 billion dollars in trade with hard currency countries in the first four months of this year.

### Jaruzelski Remarks on Victory Day

*LD0905195190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 May 90*

[Statement by President General Wojciech Jaruzelski on the 9 May Victory Day anniversary; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Many years have passed, but these are events which remain in one's memory for ever, particularly since I refreshed my memory about them three days ago at the cemetery in Siekierki, at a beautiful patriotic-religious ceremony. I was able to bow my head before the tombs of my comrades-in-arms, my friends—and today, here also, a kind of embrace. The victory was a road through torment, but one which brought us here, where we can celebrate this day in Victory Square, in fact, in the heart of Warsaw, with a feeling of pride for our part in destroying Fascism and liberating the nations of Europe. The Polish soldier, who fought on all fronts, who fought here in Poland, has a feeling of historic satisfaction. Today, in this Europe which is becoming united, it is important that our nation should be united around those great tasks which face it, and I believe it will be so. That is, in fact, the most important lesson, the most important conclusion, which is that we should remember the past and think about the future.

### PAP on Victory Day Commemoration

*LD0905194190 Warsaw PAP in English 1835 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 9—On the 45th anniversary of the victory over the Third Reich, a wreath from the nation was laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier during the gala change of guards here today.

Flowers were also laid at the September 1939 Barricade Monument to pay tribute to Polish soldiers who fought from the first to the last day of World War II, and at the mausoleum cemetery of the Red Army soldiers.

Poland's President, General Wojciech Jaruzelski attended the observances at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The wreath of white and red flowers arranged in the shape of the Polish national emblem, with a ribbon reading "To Victorious Polish Soldiers on the 45th Anniversary of Ending World War II—The Nation" was laid by Wojciech Jaruzelski, Sejm and Senate Speakers Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski respectively, and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

General Florian Siwicki laid a wreath from the Polish Army soldiers.

On behalf of the Diplomatic Corps a wreath was laid by its deputy dean, Ambassador of Morocco Abdessalam Ouazzani accompanied by Ambassadors of Great Britain and the Soviet Union Stephen Jeremy Barret and Victor Brovikov respectively, Charge D'Affaires of France Jean Francois Terral, Councillor of the U.S. Embassy Darryl N. Johnson and the military attaches of these embassies.

The observances at the Victory Square ended in a military parade.

### Defense Ministry Denies Knowledge of Arms Sales

*AU1005085890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0820 GMT 10 May 90*

["Official Events: From the Ministry of National Defense"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/5/1990—The ROMPRES news agency has received the following release:

"In connection with the article authored by Benjamin Weiser in WASHINGTON POST, mentioned by some Romanian publications, that alleges that the U.S. Government secretly bought advanced Soviet military technology, for ten years through the agency of the former dictator's family, the Romanian Ministry of National Defense makes it known to public opinion that it did not know and does not know of operations like those mentioned in the article above. Likewise, part of the technology referred to has never been on the Romanian Army's equipment".

### Campeanu: Ready To Withdraw Candidacy

*AU0905181890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] The press bureau of the National Liberal Party [NLP] sent our editorial board the following statement signed by NLP President Radu Campeanu. At the request of the steering group of the National Alliance for the Timisoara Declaration—which has many adherents and supporters throughout the country—and in the desire to contribute to reestablishing a climate of peace and stability, I am prepared to ask the NLP leadership to agree to the withdrawal of my candidature for Romania's presidency, provided that the other two candidates, Messrs. Ion Ratiu and Ion Iliescu, withdraw their candidatures at the same time. If the two other candidates agree to withdraw from the race, the state's interim president for the duration of the drafting of the Constitution will be appointed by the future parliament, concludes the statement by NLP President Mr. Radu Campeanu.

### Campeanu's Assailants in Braila Arrested

*AU1005100290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0901 GMT 10 May 90*

["Social Life: Statement by the Police"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/5/1990—In connection with the incidents in Braila on May 5, this year, during the electoral meeting attended by the president of the National Liberal Party, Radu Campeanu, candidate for Romania's presidency, the police inspector-general specifies in a statement sent to the news agency ROMPRES that two persons were preventively arrested—Dan Mihalascu (39) and Costache Nicolae (30), while Ion Parmac (34) was sent to the court as a penal case and Maria Tudor (34) is held in custody to be sent to the court.

Likewise, the medical bodies sent the mentally deficient Anghel Gheorghe (28), who caused disorder at the same meeting, to a relevant medical unit.

The statement also specifies that following the investigations on the 110 incidents the police was informed about, namely acts of aggression on the headquarters of some parties, molestation of some persons, destruction of election propaganda materials, 73 persons were found guilty, of which seven were put on trial and 66 were punished according to the contravention they committed.

### Man Convicted for Assaulting Ratiu

*AU0905182090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Ion Balan, inhabitant of the city of Buzau, was sentence to a-year-and-a-half prison term for outrages upon morals, disturbance of public order and the damaging of a political group's headquarters.

The deeds he was convicted for took place on 24 April, during the electoral tour to Buzau of Mr. Ion Ratiu, candidate for Romania's presidency of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party.

The convict is jobless and had been sentenced six times for theft over 1977-1984.

### Iliescu, Demonstrators To Hold Talks 12 May

*AU0905134890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] In connection with the planned dialogue between Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, and representatives of the demonstrators in the University Square, it has been agreed that this dialogue should take place next Saturday, 12 May.

### Doina Cornea Joins Hunger Strike

*AU0905190590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 9 May 90*

["Marathon Demonstration: Doina Cornea, a Hunger Striker"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—The unauthorized demonstration in the University Square continued throughout Wednesday. At 19.00 hours over 1,000 people, among whom many passers-by listened to the speakers who, from the microphone mounted in the balcony of the Faculty of Geography, declared against communism and totalitarianism.

We remind that the previous evening among the orators in the University Square were Mrs. Doina Cornea, poet

Ioan Alexandru, NPCDP [National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party] vice-president, well-known pan pipe player Gheorghe Zamfir.

Announcements about lost children were made, while speakers introduced themselves as spokesmen of inhabitants in other settlements of the country (Iasi, Craiova, Constanta, etc.).

Mrs. Doina Cornea joined the hunger strikers who have political, juridical, religious claims. She stated that her strike would end several days before the elections.

### Police Report Decline in Violations of Law

*AU0905093590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0748 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/5/1990—The month of April marked in Romania a decline in the transgression of law as compared with March, shows a Romanian police report. Offences associated with violence dropped by 17 percent, with major drops recorded with murder and attempted murder (by 34.9 percent), severe bodily injury (by 16.6 percent) and burglary (16.5 percent).

By 6 percent less deeds that damaged public property were reported. Worth mentioning is that the theft from freight cars declined by 40 percent. Damage caused to private property though, is still high (over 1,400 cases).

As for road accidents, there were by 11 percent less, the number of dead caused by such accidents dropped by 28 and of the wounded by 6.

### Parties' Protest Motion to Provisional Government

*AU1005111790 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 3 May 90 p 1*

[Undated "protest motion" sent to the provisional government by the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party, National Liberal Party, Romanian Social Democratic Party, Liberal Democratic Party, and Socialist Liberal Party]

[Text] There are 20 days left until the elections.

Our parties have tried to carry out their election campaign in a democratic way through meetings, the press, leaflets, posters, radio, and television. From the very first days of the election campaign we noted that we were hampered in an organized way and by all means from carrying out our election activities in a democratic and civilized spirit.

The delegates of our parties are violently attacked in various places throughout the country, reaching a criminal level. Propaganda materials are being torn from billboards. And newspapers and magazines to be disseminated throughout the country systematically do not reach their destination.

A virulent and disgraceful campaign of slander and serious threats has been launched against some of the representatives of our parties. Our meetings cannot take place under normal democratic conditions because of brutal intervention.

The access to radio and television stations has been limited arbitrarily and often the statements by our representatives are cut or even replaced by the commentaries of television moderators.

At the same time, in the style known before the December 1989 revolution, the National Salvation Front is spreading propaganda by making use of unlimited material means, since it has available all of the administrative means—financial and technical—and the whole local administrative system which has retained its former structure, including the repressive apparatus.

All of these practices are flagrantly at variance with the provisions of Article 10 of the Election Law and, at the same time, remind us of the disgraceful election campaign which preceded the complete falsification of the parliamentary elections of 19 November 1946.

Our parties point out that free elections must first of all benefit from a period of time in which the election campaign can take place in freedom, security, and equality of rights.

For this purpose, we ask the provisional government to immediately ensure a democratic framework in which this election campaign can take place, a campaign on which our country's democratic future depends.

Thus, a postponement of the elections is required because the parties were actually not permitted to begin their election campaign under normal democratic conditions. Similarly, our parties declare that they fully endorse the Timisoara Proclamation.

Should the provisional government not take the necessary measures to ensure a favorable atmosphere for the election campaign, our parties may be obliged not to participate in these elections that were corrupt from the very beginning because of the violation of democratic principles.

[Signed] National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party, President Corneliu Coposu; National Liberal Party, Vice President Dan Lazarescu; Romanian Social Democratic Party, President Sergiu Cunescu; Liberal Democratic Party, President Nica Leon; Socialist Liberal Party, President Niculae Cerveni

### PNUC Rejects Call for Election Postponement

*AU0905174390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1631 GMT 9 May 90*

["Elections Will Be Held on the Set Date"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—Ion Iliescu rejects the request of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [NPCDP] as an "insolent ultimatum" and "an outright threat which proves once again that the NPCDP prefers undemocratic practices of force which themselves contribute to destabilizing the election campaign."

A statement of the spokesman of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] president's office shows that the NPCDP should have addressed its letter to that body and not to its president, much less to the prime minister. "To act in that manner means to deliberately ignore the country's legislative body of which the Christian and Democratic National Party itself is a member."

The statement denounces "the falseness of the charges regarding the so-called promise of the PNUC president in connection with the agreement of all parties on the adoption of the voting law" and reminds that representatives of all parties took part in the sessions of the commission for the drafting of the law which was subsequently debated to its last detail by the PNUC" [quote mark as received] to ask to question: "When did the National Peasant Party express its real intentions, when it took part in the debate and approval of the respective law or now when it pursues to deny it through roundabout schemes like the present letter?"

Answering, point by point, the charges brought in the letter, the statement terms as groundless those referring to the "electoral terror," charges which "seem to be rather an attempt at preparing public opinion for an electoral failure of the NPCDP than the expression of a real concern for the course of the election campaign in civilized and peaceful conditions in the favour of which the NPCDP itself spoke during the latest session of the Provisional National Unity Council."

"We were and further are for the elimination of any form of violence during the election campaign, demanding that effective measures be taken to that effect," the statement shows. "At the same time we wonder: Are the destructive orientation, the content and the methods of the election campaign promoted by the NPCDP not at all responsible for the incitation of the electors, for the creation of the states of tension?"

The reference to the "direct subordination of the radio and television... to the country's president" on the grounds of a decree issued as far back as 1971 is termed in the statement "not only ill- willing but a diversion meant to divert attention from the fact that the NPCDP's own electoral propaganda on the TV exceeds by far the three minutes officially granted, which other parties rigorously observe."

The charges in connection with the so called systematic hampering of the dissemination of the opposition parties' and independent press "are also groundless as long as they do not rely on palpable facts that should allow the taking of appropriate measures. The real deficiencies in press dissemination equally affect the entire press, that of the NSF [National Salvation Front] included."

The statement considers as "groundless" also the "reproaches to the PNUC president's attitude vis-a-vis the demonstration in the University Square" reminding that "despite its illegal character ... of electoral propaganda," despite "its condemnation by public opinion, the president of the Provisional National Unity Council accepted nonetheless the initiation of a dialogue with representatives of the demonstrators, a dialogue which is still possible to the extent to which they define their stand in view of a substantive talk."

"The attempt at disuniting the electorate through such methods motivated exclusively by narrow party interests, for which the NPCDP can also be held responsible, cannot impose the postponement of the elections," the statement stresses. "It runs counter to the ever more clearly expressed will of most of the country's citizens. Any delay would contribute rather to prolonging the provisional state, the states of tension and uncertainty than to calming them down."

### Parties Unhappy With Electoral Climate

*AU1005091690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0820 GMT 10 May 90*

["Election Campaign: Dissatisfaction with the Climate of the Campaign"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/5/1990—In a release published in daily DREPTATEA the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party [NPCDP], the National Liberal Party [NLP] and the Romanian Social-Democratic Party [SDP] express their dissatisfaction with the climate in which the election campaign proceeds, saying that they "cannot campaign in normal conditions of democracy". The release mentions that the meeting of the three parties' leaderships on May 8 analyzed a number of measures for their action in the next period, measures that will be made final at the meeting set for the week's end (May 12).

### Regulations for Foreign Observers to Elections

*AU0905190790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1810 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—The foreign observers to the 20 May elections will be able freely to survey the entire electoral process, to assist voting in polling stations, the opening of the boxes and the counting of the votes included, informs the Central Electoral Bureau.

They will be able freely to go to any settlement.

The only obligation of the observers, by virtue of their status sanctioned by international practice, is to adopt a neutral attitude, refraining from any statement or action that might be considered an interference in the electoral process. This means, inter alia, that the observers cannot

express points of view in favour of or against a political party or group, a candidate, and cannot relay any information in connection with the elections.

Certainly, just as any foreign person, the observers must abide by the laws and regulations in force in Romania.

After the voting, the observers can make any statement they wish, at news conferences included, in connection with what they had noted during the elections.

It is reminded that one has the status of observer only after getting the accreditation from Romania's Government, on the basis of a certificate from the organization or association one represents. Accreditation can be obtained only in Bucharest, at the headquarters of the Central Electoral Bureau, Strada Onesti, No. 2, phone 15-04-91, telex 11983 bcr, and fax 15-04-69.

According to international practice, the observers will pay their expenses.

Upon request, the Romanian side can offer a number of facilities, such as room reservations, car renting, interpreter hiring, plane reservations.

### Foreign Observers Declare Election Participation

*AU0905190990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1807 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—The Central Electoral Bureau informs that until today the following announced that they would attend the 20 May elections: the European Parliament—five persons, deputies from Great Britain and Italy, the Council of Europe, the National Democratic Institute of the United States and the National Representatives' Institute—75 persons, half of them members of U.S. Congress the remaining half international representatives.

Portugal will sent a 4-people delegation led by J. Soares.

The French Socialist Party will send four persons, the "Villages Roumains" organization 150 persons.

The delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will be made up of four people, while Hungary will send four deputies.

Announcing their participation were also the Helsinki-Watch and the Helsinki International Federation for Human Rights, other organizations.

### Polls Predict Iliescu, NSF Victory

*AU0905182190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1728 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—Almost 70 per cent of Romania's population want Ion Iliescu as president, almost 13 per cent Radu Campeanu, and 6.4 per cent Ion Ratiu, shows an opinion poll. A little over one tenth have not opted yet for any of three candidates to Romania's presidency.

This is the third pre-election poll taken between 4 and 6 May by the Romanian Opinion Poll Institute on a sample of 2,748 persons aged over 17.

According to the poll, preferences go as follows: the National Salvation Front 58.6 per cent; the National Liberal Party 13.4 per cent; the Ecological Movement 6.5 per cent; the Christian and Democratic National Party 5.3 percent; the other 68 political groups that fielded candidates under nine per cent.

The poll also highlights that elections are awaited with growing interest: Nine tenths of the electorate will cast their vote, the intention to vote growing by two per cent from the previous polls.

The results of the poll also evince that 78 per cent of the population believe in the fairness of the elections, the remainder doubting it.

Future is seen with a mixture of optimism and doubt: Most of the people think that private initiative will be encouraged, that people will be able to openly say what they think, that the standard of living will rise. Most doubts and fears refer to people's appraisal according to their merits, to mutual respect, calm and tranquility in the country.

### Freedom of Free Romanian Television Questioned

*AU0605175690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 6 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1990—Election campaign: Is the Free Romanian Television free?

Yes, say 81 percent of respondents to an opinion poll taken by the non-governmental and non-political "Dacia" office. No, is the answer supplied by 4 percent whereas 15 percent of the persons questioned said they did not know whether the television was manipulated by the government and the National Salvation Front as certain publications and political personalities claimed.

One of the claims of the demonstrators in Bucharest's University Square is the cancellation of the decree issued by the provisional administration concerning the status of television.

Having achieved the heat of broadcasting the revolution live and being unreservedly praised in the early day of the revolution, the television was eventually challenged and accused of bias and manipulation of information.

According to the same opinion poll, the majority of the population (91 percent) take the view that the election campaign programme of the television give all parties and personalities equal opportunities, with only 5 percent holding the opposite.

Opinions however vary as far as the press is concerned. It is partly free in the opinion of 45 percent of the respondents, 8 percent accuse it of bias, 28 percent allege

manipulation by parties, and 7 percent charge that its documentation is poor and that its circulation too small.

It should be said that the number of publications in today's Romania has topped 1,000.

## Iliescu Interviewed on NSF Role, Other Issues

### On Break With Communist System

*PM0905146390 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 8 May 90*

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by BBC correspondent Julian O'Halloran on BBC 2 "Newsnight" program, as part of a report on the Romanian elections, in Bucharest; date not given—recorded, in Romanian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [O'Halloran] Iliescu and the [National Salvation] Front are still enjoying the enormous dividends they won last December by killing Ceausescu and ending his regime's worst excesses.

[Iliescu] This is true. It was especially true in the first two months of our activity, when one of the main concerns of the new leadership's government was to eliminate a series of restrictions and laws gravely affecting the citizens' interests and to solve certain vital problems concerning food, energy, water, and other supplies. But in the longer term, our society suffers from a serious crisis—both economic and social—which cannot be easily solved.

[O'Halloran] And the opposition like to remind voters of the days when Iliescu was the dictator's friend and heir apparent: That was 19 years ago. Then Iliescu fell from grace, though he remained a senior party official till the mid-1980's. So where do he and the Front stand now?

[Iliescu] In the political spectrum, the National Salvation Front holds a center-left position with Social Democratic nuances. We believe that the history of the Communist Party and of the socialist economy has demonstrated the inefficiency and inconsistency of both the political and economic practices of the communist system. We have, once and for all, broken with that system, and our only concern is a realistic approach to problems.

### On Future Form of Government

*AU1005091890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0747 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/5/1990—It is a relative truth that the National Salvation Front is an alleged ruling organization, says Ion Iliescu in an interview with newspaper TINERETUL LIBER. The present government was formed immediately after the December 1989 revolution by the National Salvation Front Council, though not from its membership. That the Front was given direct responsibility for government work was quite natural after all, because the front was the only political structure that emerged then, in December, and assumed responsibilities for the political leadership of the country and for government formation, and for state administration. From this point of view, we do not back down on our responsibility for the present government.

On the election returns, Ion Iliescu assumes that a coalition could be formed. I personally, am for a larger number of parties to be brought into the future government to share in its responsibility. Especially at this time and in the next several years when things will be very complicated because there will be problems to radically reform the economy, to restructure the industry and the economy as a whole, in the transition to a market economy with everything that goes with it, internally and externally. They all call for a broad spectrum of forces to join and approach to these problems. And we will plead for as wide as possible a range of the forces to contribute to this effort. Our view is that national interests should prevail over narrow, partisan interests. We will be open to a broad coalition.

### On Revolution, Breach With Communism

*AU1005102490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0936 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/5/1990—I have foreseen that only a revolution could be a solution for Romania, stated Mr. Ion Iliescu in an interview with "TINERETUL LIBER" daily. Unlike the other Eastern European countries where changes occurred within the leading political parties, in thinking and action, it was obvious for me that could not happen in Romania. Ceausescu's character and the regime of political control from inside the party nomenklatura and the repressive system ready to suppress any trial of escape from that situation, made a safety valve and inner changes in the system impossible. In that context—and I stated it in several talks with my friends—a social boom was inevitable. I could say I even expected it to happen. I was not sure when it would happen, but I stated even in 1987 that such an explosion should take place. Since then I have been living with hopes but not without worries. We feared such a perspective, the unfamiliarness of such an explosion. Undoubtedly we succeeded in such an outbreak to maintain a certain equilibrium of social life. We prepare ourselves for a complex and deep-rooted transition and it is necessary to elaborate measures which should not cause too many a suffering to Romanian society.

The National Salvation Front's Proclamation of 22 December shows a radical programmatic breach not only with the Ceausescu regime but also with everything that represented his system. And not only the proclamation but also the process that took place marks such a radical breach with everything that meant past political life and socioeconomic structures, the communist system.

### Iliescu Addresses Electoral Rally in Ploiesti

*AU0905200490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1824 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—The country's provisional state can no longer continue by postponing the May 20 elections, and those who try it aim at compromising the government as organizer and in charge of the elections, are contributing to the country's destabilization, Mr. Ion Iliescu stated today. Speaking in front of about 100,000 participants in the electoral meeting in Ploiesti, the National Salvation Front candidate to Romania's presidency showed that instead of taking place in the sphere of political options the election campaign degenerated into insulting confrontations, into unspeakable actions for which the Front is always blamed.

On the other hand he declared for "an open policy" which "will put an end to the autarchical development." "We do not consider we have the monopoly of knowledge, that is why we must take the best from the best, from the most advanced democracies. Internally, we wish to obtain a collaboration of all the forces interested in the country's progress" Mr. Iliescu said. "No matter whom you vote on May 20 we have several years of hard work ahead of us in order to put an end to the officialized lies, to false reports, in order to put into practice serious social programmes with maximum efficiency".

### Campeanu on Elections, Iliescu, Demonstrations

*PM0905140490 Paris LE FIGARO in French 8 May 90 p 3*

[Interview with National Liberal Party presidential candidate Radu Campeanu by Irina de Chikoff in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] [De Chikoff] You were attacked in Braila on Saturday. Previously, the National Peasant Party candidate was also attacked during a meeting in Buzau. Who do you think is responsible for these incidents and for all the incidents which have occurred during the election campaign?

[Campeanu] It was not just an incident which occurred in Braila but attempted murder. Eugene Mailat, one of my advisers who was mistaken for me by the thugs, was nearly lynched as he left the meeting.

I note that these attacks always follow the same pattern. Around 100 to 300 people form a commando unit and move into action either during the election meeting or after it. These men are armed with sticks and empty bottles. They are organized and stop their agitation as soon as the candidate manages to escape them. The police do nothing or are incapable of doing anything. In Braila, the young soldiers who were supposed to protect me as I left fled when the mob attacked.

I cannot and do not believe that Ion Iliescu or Prime Minister Petre Roman are involved in these operations. But the government has responsibility in that it is incapable of guaranteeing the safety of the election candidates.

[De Chikoff] Do you think that the Securitate has been dismantled?

[Campeanu] The Securitate still exists. Many of its agents have simply been transferred to the police. I am very worried by the prevailing atmosphere in Romania. The government has been unable or unwilling to destroy the hard core of the old regime. These forces still have secret power.

[De Chikoff] The political parties have several times threatened to boycott the elections if the aggressions against their candidates, their members, or their premises increased. What do you intend to do now?

[Campeanu] I have asked the Interior Ministry for an investigation into the Braila affair. We have consulted with the National Peasant Party and with the Social Democratic Party to determine what action to take in response to these attacks. I personally am not in favor of a boycott. But I wonder how we can continue in this atmosphere.

[De Chikoff] What do you think of Ion Iliescu?

[Campeanu] I think the question is clear. He was and still is a Communist, although he is a flexible, moderate Communist, and he realizes that he must not go too far. It is no longer possible to follow communism openly in Romania, but it is possible to curb the liberalization.

Ion Iliescu adheres to his position when he can. He gives way when he has no alternative. I think that he is a prisoner of the ideology which has guided his whole life and the lives of his former friends. However, our relations have always been courteous.

[De Chikoff] Have you had discussions with him about the attacks committed by the commandos during this election campaign?

[Campeanu] Yes. He denies that they are National Salvation Front people.

[De Chikoff] Do you believe these denials?

[Campeanu] No.

[De Chikoff] Do you think that these commandos include National Salvation Front members?

[Campeanu] Who else could they be?

[De Chikoff] Is the situation comparable to 1946 when the Communists seized power?

[Campeanu] It is possible to make that comparison, but the political context is totally different in that communism now is collapsing everywhere.

[De Chikoff] What struck you most when you returned to Romania after 17 years in exile?

[Campeanu] The expression on people's faces. It was as if the pain and worry had formed layers covering the faces. And then there was fear—it is rooted everywhere, ingrained fear.

[De Chikoff] What do you think of the "golani"—the demonstrators Iliescu describes as "hooligans?"

[Campeanu] I support them and approve all the articles of the Timisoara proclamation. The "hooligans" represent a people's movement. The government has been forced to admit that by starting dialogue with them.

[De Chikoff] People in Bucharest are saying that you might participate in a coalition government with Ion Iliescu. Is that true?

[Campeanu] I will not take part in anything with people who maintain the old communist structures. But, if that stage was overcome, anything would be possible. Democracy means dialogue, too.

[De Chikoff] Will you continue to hold meetings, despite Braila?

[Campeanu] Of course. Moreover, my wife has given me a bulletproof jacket.

### Further on PNUC 7 May Meeting

*AU0705211190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2042 GMT 7 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/5/1990—The meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] was held under the chairmanship of Mr. Ion Iliescu on Monday, May 7.

The communique of the meeting shows that several draft decree-laws and decrees were examined and approved regarding: the organization and functioning of the Romanian radio and television; some provisions concerning the Romanian citizenship; improvement of the health care, education, schooling and professional training conditions for the children and youths with physical or intellectual deficiencies and for the unadapted minors; Romanian's Chambers of Commerce and Industry; the organization of information and documentation activity; wages of the personnel of the judicial organs and the Prosecutor's Office; the institution of a cinema stamp tax; authorization for autonomous functioning of the Romanian national section of the Balkan medical union; setting up of the Romanian Youth Foundation; organization and functioning of the National Commission for Urban and Territory Planning; functioning and attributions of the National Commission for Nuclear Activity Control; extension of the period when the Decree-Law No. 25/1990 regarding the use and wages of the personnel during interrupted-activity periods is applicable; modification and abrogation of some provisions in the law regarding the conclusion and execution of economic contracts; modification or abrogation of certain legal provisions limiting labour liberty; modification and completion of the Decree No. 194/1980 regarding the use of the living fund by foreign juristic persons, their representations and foreign natural persons on Romania's territory; foundation of the national cadastre and geodesy office; abrogation of normative acts.

Also approved were the proposals regarding the ratification of international conventions to which Romania is a party or visa-vis which it formulated reserves during the dictatorship.

The Executive Bureau also approved the proposals of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the resumption of the diplomatic relations between Romania and the Vatican, just as measures concerning the organization of events to mark the anniversary of 45 years since the victory over fascism on 9 May 1990.

Next, Mr. Ion Manzatu, vice-president of the PNUC Executive Council, informed about the stage reached in inquiring the persons involved in the events in Tirgu Mures and in drafting the report of the commission in connection with those events. The Executive Bureau asked the prosecutor's bodies and the Ministry of the Interior to continue their inquiry. It was stressed that in general, positive results had been scored in Transylvania in restoring calm in the relations between the Romanian population and the Hungarian minority.

During the meeting Mr. Radu Campeanu, PNUC vice-president, candidate of the National Liberal Party for Romania's presidency, made a brief statement in connection with the incidents occurred in Braila on 5 May, with the aggression he was subject to, stressing the gravity of the fact that such a high level of violence has been reached, and insistently requested that everything possible be done so that such acts should not recur.

The Executive Bureau most categorically condemned the acts of violence committed during the election campaign urging all political parties and groups to recommend their members and sympathizers strictest restraint and sense of civic responsibility in their activity. It was assessed that only that way could the election campaign and the 20 May elections proceed in normal conditions, the electorate having the possibility to express their options in full freedom and safety, in an atmosphere of calm and quiet in all the settlements of the country.

The members of the Executive Bureau were informed about the interview Mr. Ion Iliescu had with representatives of the "Timisoara" Society and about that scheduled with representatives of associations that initiated the demonstration in the University Square.

The Executive Bureau decided that the next session of the Provisional National Unity Council be held on Friday, 11 May at 10.00 o'clock [0700 GMT].

## PNUC Reportedly Attempts To Misinform Public

*AU0605151390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 27 Apr 90 p 4*

["Editorial note": "Attempt To Misinform the Public"]

[Text] During the 24 April meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], a deputy walked up to the microphone and stated that he had volunteered to participate in the commission that was sent by the council to University Square in order to talk with the demonstrators.

As a trophy of great value he presented a manifesto of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP], which he had obtained in University Square in the hope that this document would contain who knows what kind of incitements to revolution and violence. However, the said manifesto was a most peaceful appeal by the NPCDP for understanding and cooperation among all people of good faith in order to achieve genuine democracy.

Realizing the nature of its content, Mr. Ion Iliescu stopped it from being read over the microphone, despite protests by Mr. Diaconescu, thus leaving the impression in the air that this was an instigating manifesto.

During another part of the discussions, with the permission of Mr. Iliescu, a lady came up to the microphone saying that the demonstrators in University Square also included a group of 300 people who had come from Tirgoviste under the leadership of the NPCDP chief of Dimbovita County, a painter. Asked by Mr. Diaconescu what the name of that organization chief was and whether she knew him, she did not know how to answer.

Asked to show her identity card to prove her PNUC membership, she left the hall in a hurry. From those who know the woman, we learned that her name is Gertrude Lorenz, and she is not a PNUC member but a clerk in this council's administrative commission headed by Mr. Jerbas.

Contacting our organization in Tirgoviste, we learned that no one from that city had participated in the said demonstration.

## Coman Interrogated in Timisoara Trial

*AU0905200590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1828 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—In Timisoara, the Supreme Court the Military Department continues the trial of defendants Ion Coman, Ilie Matei, Cornel Pacoste and Radu Balan, charged with genocide by espousing the measures taken by Ceausescu, organizing and leading the repression of the demonstrators during the events in Timisoara. The way in which the repression which makes of object of the case was conceived and carried into effect just as its aftermaths unequivocally illustrate the fact that the defendants acted with the direct intention to exterminate the human collectivity that demanded the removal of the dictatorial regime.

During the inquiry, the defendants admitted their participation in the repression of the demonstrators in Timisoara through acts which, in keeping with the provisions of the penal code, are specific to genocide.

The court started with the hearing of defendant Ion Coman, ex-member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party]. Although before the penal inquiry bodies he admitted that he was directly responsible for opening fire in Timisoara, during the hearing he maintained that he was not guilty of genocide, rejected the charge of having ordered the opening of fire on demonstrators, specifying that the bloody reprisals had already started when he arrived in Timisoara. Likewise, he showed that he had not ordered the alerting of the units of the Ministry of National Defence and of the Ministry of the Interior and the bringing in of military units from neighbouring counties, such an order being the exclusive competence of the relevant ministers. The defendant denied the setting up of a local command under his direct leadership, maintaining that there was no document to that effect. Combating all the charges included in the indictment, Ion Coman maintained that he was not guilty of genocide. Moreover, he considered that due to the fact that he had not taken any action he limited its aftermaths because it was only at his insistence that the two dictators accepted to send a governmental delegation, headed by the prime minister, to negotiate with representatives of the masses of Timisoara demonstrators.

Asked if he, however, did not consider himself accomplice to the acts of brutal repression with tragic consequences of the peaceful demonstrators whose claims were justified, the defendant answered that he admitted only moral guilt, as he did not take any measure to counteract them, and in no way did he consider that he could be held legally responsible.

## Trade Union Protest to PNUC, Premier

*AU0905101190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0900 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/5/1990—In reply to proposals advanced these last few days by some organizations and political formations in Romania, the Brotherhood Federation of Independent Trade Unions in machine-building—with a membership of 150,000—addressed a note of protest to the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council], the prime minister and the relevant ministry declaring against the elaboration of new normative acts referring to the trade union movement "considering that the laws in force, including the convention on the setting up of the commission to inventory the GTUCR (the former trade union federation) assets ensure the framework for the unfolding of union activities."

Labour and union activity laws in Romania, that might be elaborated by the new parliament, the note of protest shows, must be made with the direct participation of the trade union confederations, federations set up at a national and territorial level.

### * Tokes View on Interethnic Relations Challenged

*90BA0080A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 18 Apr 90 pp 1, 4*

[Carolina Ilica article: "Janus May Have... Three Faces—The Romanian People Are Entitled To Know the Truth"]

[Text] I do not intend to place side by side in three columns the contradictory statements made by the freshly appointed Bishop Laszlo Tokes to ROMPRES (after his tour of the United States and America), to the Hungarian News Agency MTI, and to the Canadian publication THE GLOBE AND MAIL, respectively the article "Antiethnic Reprisals Jeopardize the Elections; Uproar in Romania," from which I culled only two passages: "It is sad to see that once again the Romanian authorities have managed to mislead the United States. The two sides are not equally to blame for the events in Tirgu Mures. The Hungarians were peacefully demonstrating for their rights as a minority, when they were attacked by nationalist Romanian criminals. Such events are reminiscent of Ceausescu's times, in that the Romanian Government, the National Peasant Party [NPP], the ultra-nationalist organization Vatra Romaneasca, and the Romanian media united in distorting the reports, blaming the Hungarian minority, the Hungarian Government, and Hungarian tourists for the violence." "The fundamental cause of the conflict is the issue of where Transylvania belongs (...) Organizations like Vatra Romaneasca are stirring a paranoic reaction to Transylvania, manipulating the population by inflaming anti-Hungarian and antidemocratic feelings to fanaticism."

What I do want to do is to compare these quotations with only three of the 18 points of the Declaration-Program drafted by the Tirgu Mures branch of Vatra Romaneasca (where the central headquarters of the Union is located), an apolitical organization which continues the traditions of the Transylvanian School and Astra:

4. The Union proposes to defend Romania's territorial integrity by unreservedly recognizing Transylvania as belonging to the ancestral Romanian land, as sanctioned by the historic act of 1 December 1918 (...)

8. The Union will struggle and act against any manifestations of chauvinism, racism, separatism, and territorial autonomy which are hostile to democracy and may lead to destabilizig the lawful social order.

And now, from the Program of the Vatra Romaneasca Union, point No. 11, which most "upset" and prompted some UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] to classify it as a ... "fascist-type chauvinistic organization!":

11. The Union proposes to note, verify, and report to the public deeds and actions that are against the Romanian national interests, regardless of their origin, in the light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in the spirit of the Final Document of the Helsinki European Conference and the constitution and laws of the country. (...)

Here is a synopsis of the major provocations staged against the national sentiments of the Romanians of Tirgu Mures, which were responsible for the violent clashes between Romanians and Hungarians on 19-20 March.

(Two notes: The Vatra Romaneasca Union "does not believe that the entire Hungarian population was present at the time of the provocation," only "some extremists from among it." Secondly, in presenting this synopsis it is not my intention to alert the Romanian people, only to facilitate an understanding of the link between the serious causes and the bloody outcome in Tirgu Mures, all the more so since outside our border it was the "Tokes version" that was spread).

1. Immediately after the revolution and completely outside the scope of the heroical and open struggles against the Ceausescu forces, for freedom and democracy, the houses of some Romanian families were set on fire in Sovata; no reaction was offered by anyone. Romanian militia men were subjected to violent treatment.

In Sovata and other localities, place names not conforming to Romania's official gazeteer and to the names recognized in the country and abroad were illegally posted. The UDMR neither admitted nor publicly denounced those illegal and blamable actions.

1A. Although on 4 January 1990 Mr. Karol Kiraly was informed that atrocities were perpetrated in Szekler areas, the Hungarian leaders took no measures to officially condemn them and dissassocite themselves from them; consequently, the following more serious crimes committed in Transylvania, on the very day of 23 December 1989, were distorted:

—The body of Dumitru Coman of Odorhei was hanged and walked on;
—Liviu Ceuchisan of the Dealu commune was mistreated in front of his wife and children; after his head was cut off, he was burned in his own yard, while the criminals danced around his body;
—Gabi Danila of the Zetea commune was beaten up and killed;
—Ferencz Imre of Cristuru Secuiescu was killed for defending a colleague;
—Aurel Agache was tortured and bestially killed; after being castrated and having his eyes put out, coins were put in his eye sockets and a rat in his mouth, and he was left for two days in front of the maternity hospital, while his family and five children were not allowed to take the body away to bury it;
—The houses of Nichita and Eremia of Tirgu Secuiesc were laid waste.

1B. We want to note that this attitude cannot be described as anti-Ceausescu, because Hungarian cadres who occupied the same kind of positions under the dictatorship were not attacked. Those acts of violence did not occur during the confrontation for toppling the dictatorship, but after it fell, when those guilty of having abused their positions could be brought to account legally.

Those serious attacks on Romanians elicited powerful emotions, fear, and revulsion among the Romanian inhabitants of Mures and neighboring counties.

Edifying along this line was the story told by teacher Balan from Bistrita at the general meeting of the Vatra Romaneasca Union, about one of his students, a militia worker in a Szekler area, who was mutilated and bestially killed after 17 years of service in which he did not commit any abuse; after the revolution he fell victim to the fact that he was a Romanian. The people of Bistrita buried him as a hero of the revolution.

2. On 25 December 1989, immediately after those postrevolutionary events, the principles of self-determination and local autonomy were asserted in the UDMR platform. The event was marked by powerful emotions and fear of the reestablishment of a form of autonomy damaging to Romania and particularly to the Romanian population of Transylvania.

3. At the beginning of January, harsh steps began to be taken to separate the schools. On 4 January 1990, under the leadership of Mr. Attila Palfalvi of the Ministry of Education and Elod Kineses of the Mures branch of the National Salvation Front [NSF], Romanian children were forcibly moved, in the middle of the schoolyear, from the Bolyai Highschool to the Papiu Highschool. Provocations were inscribed on various posters, and Hungarian staff held separate meetings. Even localities which have a single school (like the Livezeni commune) were affected, where Romanian parents don't know what will happen with their children in this schoolyear. Separate Hungarian school managements and parents' committees are being established without consulting the Romanians. The factors in charge are not listening to the justified protests of Romanians.

4. After the revolution, several statements (declarations and interviews) by Budapest officials, aired by the media, fostered the conviction that there were coordinated actions between the Hungarian Government and Magyar leaders in Transylvania. Attention was repeatedly called to the possibility of destabilizing the situation in Romania, something that can justifyibly be viewed as interference in the internal affairs of the young democratic Romanian state. Magyar exiles used a similar language, with the same destabilizing effect, and the Hungarian television Panoramic broadcast of 15 January presented a totally distorted version of the relations between Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania. The fact that the UDMR took no position against these obviously anti-Romanian actions profoundly disturbed the Romanian population, thus constituting a provocation for later rioting. All that together gives the impression of well staged actions and a guided machinery.

Along the same line, a provocative contribution was made to the deterioration of the situation by certain comments made on Hungarian language programs on Bucharest radio and television, the local radio station, and the pirate television station of Tirgu Mures.

5. On 5 January 1990, red-white-green flags were woven at the silk mill on shift A, between 0600-0700 (under foremen Takacs and Bandi).

6. Spontaneous antiseparatist demonstrations of young people took place in the town; in response, the Hungarian population organized a silent protest march with candles and books, led by writer Suto Andras, in which for the first time people from out of town were invited to participate, coming from many Hungarian villages and communes. Although it was peaceful, the march had an intimidating effect on the Romanians.

7. During this period (until 10 February), scientific works and school textbooks containing provocative statements about the existence and history of the Romanian people were brought into towns (Hazam, Tanulmanyok, Erdely Torteneterol, Trianon). Maps and magazines showed up in which Transylvania was shown incorporated into Hungary. The Romanian population felt insulted and provoked. We want to note that this was a deliberately organized campaign, with the participation of some members of the UDMR and other Magyar organizations.

8. On 13 February, the central newspaper ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO republished an article written by Karol Kiraly in 1981. At a time of high political effervescence there was no justification for airing incendiary phrases such as: "We Magyars want to remain Magyars, and we want nothing to do with Dacian mythology and lies..."

9. On 19 February, Mr. Elod Kincses gave an interview for the Voice of Germany, in which he stated that the Romanians had organized in a fascist-type nationalist-chauvinistic body, referring to the Vatra Romaneasca Union.

10. Items dealing with the alleged genocide of Hungarians in Transylvania began to show up in the country.

11. A report arrived, according to which a New York radio station told Hungarian emigres that on the occasion of the December revolution, Transylvania should have been transferred to Hungary; specific ways of doing that were added, including a military option.

12. A specialized work, "Az Onkormanyzati Torneny Szabalyozasi Koncsepcipja," published in Budapest in January 1990 by the Ministry of the Interior, was brought into the country. A copy of this document was found on Mr. Attila Jakobfi on 19 March 1990.

13. The statue of Avram Iancu in Tirgu Mures was desecrated on 27 February.

14. The statue of Nicolae Balcescu in Sovata was irresponsibly destroyed on 10 March. This was another provocation directed at Romanian national history.

15. On 14-15 March, Laszlo Tokes petitioned President Bush not to grant Romania the most-favored-nation clause on the grounds that since the revolution, the Romanian Government allegedly did not grant any rights to minorities, although the basic political problems—organization of political parties and the expansion of Hungarian-language education—had been already resolved.

16. On 15 March, the anniversary of the 1848 Pest revolution was ostentatiously celebrated in Transylvania, including the entire range of propaganda materiel, red-white-green flags displayed on buildings and monuments, special press issues, including the local newspaper NEPUJSAG, etc. The Romanians did not react, but stored up emotions and dissatisfaction. The respective events exceeded in scope the protocol customary on such occasions.

17. The appearance of a map of Hungary including Transylvania was described by Mr. Elod Kineses as an insult, adding that it was two years old. That may have been true, but the Romanians would have preferred to see a denunciation of that document, rather than hear some empty phrases about the timing of its publication.

18. The Hungarian students of the IMF [Medical-Pharmaceutic Institute] began a strike on 7 March 1990, which disrupted the activities of the institute and affected the emotions of their Romanian colleagues. On 26 March 1990 the strike was still on. However, we want to note that during their visit to Tirgu Mures sometime before that, Messrs. Palfalvi and Demeny from the Ministry of Education refused to have substantive talks at the IMF, which could have preempted the later explosive developments.

19. On 16 March, a Trabant car driven by a Hungarian drove into a group of Romanian demonstrators marching from the direction of the Tudor Vladimirescu neighborhood toward the center of town. Outcome: 14 people injured, and a serious psychological provocation of the Romanian demonstrators. The demonstrators were unhappy about the equivocal attitude of the local branch of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] concerning the events that occurred on the same day at Pharmacy No. 28. Reports of the events in Tirgu Mures immediately spread throughout the county through the press and local stations, as well as through personal and telephone contacts among relatives and friends.

20. On 19 March requests came for the resignation of Elod Kineses, Andras Tokes, and Attila Jakobfi, viewed as responsible for repeated moral attacks on the national dignity of the Romanian population in the county. The officials in question disappeared from the building or refused to give satisfactory explanations when brought before the crowds, something that added to the unrest. The next day, Hungarian demonstrators imposed the restoration of Elod Kineses as deputy chairman of the PNUC in Mures County. The demonstrators went into the building and clearly exercised pressure designed to intimidate and constrain the Romanian members of the PNUC.

Then came the events which ended in three dead and almost 300 wounded, of which, according to the data reported by medical services, more than 60 percent were Romanians.

The clashes are to be investigated by the prosecutor's office.

21. The newspapers NEPUJSAG and HARGHITA, and the Hungarian language broadcasts of the local Tirgu Mures radio station contributed to escalating the demands of the Hungarian minority, and spreading anti-Romanian and antipatriotic feelings among that population.

In many situations, working collectives with a Hungarian majority abusively removed Romanian directors whose competence and moral integrity were above question, simply for being Romanians.

### Tokes Installed as Reformed Bishop of Oradea

*AU0805185790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1712 GMT 8 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/5/1990—A ceremony was held Tuesday when Mr. Laszlo Tokes was installed as reformed bishop of Oradea. The religious service was officiated by Mr. Jano Miko, reformed bishop of Bratislava, assisted by several high-ranking prelates like Dr. Kalman Ciha, new reformed bishop of Cluj-Napoca, and Dr. Elemer Kocsis, bishop of Debrecen, president of the Synod of the Reformed Church in Hungary. The ceremony was attended by representatives of all the local religious denominations as well as by Dr. Milan Opocenski, secretary-general of the World Reformed Alliance based in Geneva, Dr. Heinrich Rusterholz, president of the Protestant Federation of the Netherlands, other invited guests from the U.S.A., Canada and Yugoslavia, and a large number of faithful from Oradea and the surroundings.

### Chauvinist Circles Blamed for Ethnic Tension

*AU0705204890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1947 GMT 7 May 90*

["Official News: Who Is Interested in Perpetuating Tension?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/5/1990—In an interview granted to the Budapest daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP" of 2 May 1990, the reformed Bishop Karoly Toth assesses that the Hungarians in Romania could be obliged in

future to wear a green star as an identification sign. The bishop says that at the recent Paris meeting of the Commission for Refugees of the Council of Europe he requested inter alia the intervention of the Hungarian Government to ensure the individual and collective rights of the Hungarian population, just as the sending by the Council of Europe of "a commission of inquiry" to Romania.

Echoing the denigrations disseminated through that interview, the Hungarian press repeated Bishop K. Toth's assessments invoking so-called information based on the statements of three young people of Tirgu Mures.

The Hungarian magazine "REFORM" of wide circulation "urgently" requests an interview with representatives of Romania's state leadership on this subject matter.

In connection with this state of affairs, the ROMPRES news agency addressed [as received] to the Romanian governmental authorities and is in a position to state the following:

The goal set by the Romanian revolution of December 1989 of ensuring fundamental rights and freedoms for all the citizens of the country, and, in this context, of protecting the identity of the minority persons from an ethnic, national or religious point of view, of eliminating any discrimination against them, of guaranteeing them the right to use their mother tongue in education, instruction, administration, culture, to benefit from cultural institutions and associations, to preserve their own customs and traditions is widely known. The very legal norms established by the revolution exclude any restriction to every citizen's rights as well as any privilege for some citizens on grounds of race, religion or nationality, any support to exclusivism, separatism, hatred or contempt for race, religion or nationality. Any bona fide observer can note that today, after the revolution in Romania the minority population from an ethnic, national or religious point of view is free to exercise its civil, political and socioeconomic rights, to participate, on an equal footing, in the entire life of the country, through its democratic organisms, through its appointed or elected representatives to the legislative, executive or legal bodies. The political parties of the minorities, the professional, religious or other organizations take part in the entire political and social life of Romania, on equal terms with the other parties and organizations.

In this period when public opinion expects the decision-makers in the two countries to show concern over the identification of constructive solutions, meant to provide a solid foundation to the Romanian-Hungarian relations and when the Romanian Government has made known its intention to present the Hungarian Government with a package of palpable proposals, forces that resume, through old and blamable methods, their venomous attacks against Romania are, surprisingly, coming to life again in Hungary. Unfortunately, the chauvinistic circles in Hungary and other countries, interested in vitiating the present climate of the Romanian-Hungarian relations, in perpetuating a state of tension and confusion, prove to be particularly active. Undoubtedly, the answer to the question: Who is interested in disseminating news like that announced by Bishop K. Toth with so much zeal? Is very clear: Interested are only those concerned to render topical again the revisionist policy of the totalitarian regimes that have dominated the political life in neighbour Hungary, by dividing the Romanians and the Hungarians.

It is equally obvious that the major interest of the Hungarians in Romania, of the entire Romanian nation is the development of the process of democratization of the Romanian society, the promotion of relations of good neighbourliness and understanding between the two countries.

### * Delays in Decentralization Criticized

*90BA0082C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 20 Apr 90 pp 1, 3*

[Ion Teodor article: "Progress Toward Centralization Halted"]

[Text] An old Chinese proverb says that even a road of 10,000 li begins with one step. In that case, regarding paths closer to home, with what should we begin to revitalize a crooked economy, if not with the foundation, rather than the roof?

There is, of course, no shortage of solutions, and many experts talk about privatization, unfettering private initiative, attracting foreign capital, and so forth and so on. The PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council], which so far doesn't seem to be frightfully interested in economic matters, has realized that it must nevertheless do something along this line, and has issued two notable legislative acts: the Decree-law No. 54 on the organization and running of some economic activities on the basis of free initiative, and Decree-law No. 96 on measures to attract foreign capital investments in Romania.

Thus, it may be said that the first steps toward a market economy and decentralization have already been made. Without denying the indubitable importance of these legal provisions, we are nevertheless forced to note that in fact, we have not begun with the beginning. This is because something essential has been forgotten: To set the national economy on its own feet, we must first clear the ground of the old organizational structures of a centralism pushed to the absurd by the former dictatorship. However, along this line, almost nothing has been done so far. Let us explain.

At one of the Parliament meetings, Prime Minister Petre Roman stated that he plans to make enterprises autonomous. Here, we thought, this is the first step that should have been taken long ago to decentralize the economy. But what was done at the macroeconomic level for enterprises to be able to become truly autonomous? If we examine the situation close up, we discover that the State

Planning Committee and the Ministry of Technical-Material Supplies were dismantled, and a Ministry of National Economy was established. Naturally, we do not mean to say that this new ministry is synonymous with the two former institutions, but the objects of its activities are pretty similar: It drafts material balance sheets (even though fewer than was previously the case), issues allocations, and even allows enterprises to become autonomous and to show initiative. But what initiative can the director of an enterprise show if the structural scaffolding has remained virtually the same and if every important decision follows the same route: enterprise-industrial central-competent ministry-Ministry of National Economy!

We will go even further in our statement and assert that tomorrow we may be surprised to see in some enterprises a meeting of the—nota bene—Council of Working People (yes, the famous CWP) to discuss and decide how to organize production. You may say that such a thing is impossible, that we now have administrative boards in enterprises which cooperate with the free trade unions in making decisions. Absolutely correct! Theoretically, however, the other possibility is not out of the question, either, since so far, Law No. 5 of 6 July 1978 on the organization and management of state socialist units has not been abrogated!

The only area in which the industrial centrals were dismantled is the metal processing industry, but even there, it was done for conjectural reasons, not at all as an action designed to ensure the decentralization of production. The metal working combines, which by definition are mammoth enterprises, practically fulfilled the role and functions of genuine industrial centrals before the revolution, too. Consequently, at the macroeconomic level, the organizational structure has remained practically unchanged, and the autonomy given enterprises is more of an illusion advanced as a reality, without any legal basis.

Things have not changed at all regarding the planning system of the production and technical-material supply of enterprises. The fact that the plans or production programs, whatever we may call them, are somewhat more realistic and closer to actual capacities and facilities, is not fooling anyone. The system is still the same. Similarly, no improvements are felt in the area of technical-material supply of prodution units. The proof is that there are still enterprises that cannot fulfill their contracts, even with foreign partners, because they don't have the material to achieve the production.

True, the old state plan dealt at a central level with about 100 economic-financial indexes and 1,800 products, something that was a complete aberration. The 1990 plan, which was completed by 22 December, measured no less than... four meters in files piled one on top of the other. Now, the Ministry of National Economy is pursuing only about 10 economic-financial indexes and about 400 products. The value ceiling of investments that need to be approved by the government has also been raised. However, we repeat, the working system in general is still the same. But, as long as this situation prevails, whatever measures are taken to loosen the shackles on enterprises, real economic decentralization will not occur and we will be no further along toward a market economy.

### * Call for Privatization of Economy

*90BA0082B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Apr 90 p 2*

[Stefan Zidarita article: "Privatize the Economy, Now!"]

[Text] In the area of the economy there is evident and constructive national consensus, both in parliament and in political life in general. We are referring to privatization and to the transition to a market economy. All the political parties proclaim it and support it without reservation; all the parties and political groups believe that, among all the reforms planned, the decentralization of the economy and its privatization for the purpose of advantageously linking it to the requirements of a free market economy, is one of the basic conditions for speedily redressing the economy and promoting the long awaited prosperity of our Romanian society.

The natural and necessary differences of opinion regarding a precise program are not directed at the issue itself, only at the rate of privatization and its scope. That is or should be more than encouraging for the government. Because this national consensus frees the hands of the government, even though it is a provisional government, and of the parliament and considerably encourages them in their present and future endeavors. But how do things actually look in reality?

It cannot be said that nothing is being done. It seems to have been understood that, at least in the economy, the situation cannot wait. The government has taken certain salutary decisions. A very competent representative team is already working within the Ministry of National Economy [MNE]. Its duties are to implement the first privatization measures; to draft rules and regulations for implementing the respective legislation; to provide guidance for persons interested in establishing private enterprises, firms, or associations with full or partial foreign capital; and finally, to participate in evaluating the assets of state enterprises and prepare the staff, and organize publicity in the country and abroad. Also, as was stressed last week at a news conference at the above ministry, this process of gradual transition to a market economy is designed to attract foreign material or financial resources that can contribute to bringing new technologies to key sectors—naturally, without affecting Romania's authority over the strategic sectors of the national economy. Increasingly close links are being developed with the Academy of Economic Sciences, the National Institute of Economic Research, the Ministries of Finance and Foreign Trade, the Governmental Commission for Coordinating Foreign Economic Aid, and the National Commission for Small Industry and Services. Even a mere enumeration of the factors involved in this

cooperation suggests how broad and complex the structural reform of privatization is going to be.

But all these are explorations rather than specific measures for implanting private nuclei in the economy. Whether we like it or not, that is the situation at present, despite the national political consensus on the issue in question. The political and executive stability that we expect to be made possible in May will be decisive. Because it is indisputable that potential investors—foreigners or Romanians living abroad, firms or individuals—are waiting to first see the actual results of the beginning of the process of democratization in our country, a process strongly marked by the 20 May elections. The choice is theirs. It is equally clear that the present, provisional government can and is even duty-bound to initiate far greater campaigns to publicize abroad the concept and even the measures, be they only theoretical, concerning privatization and the transition to a market economy, which is an irreversible decision and one of the first decisions unanimously adopted by the current provisional parliament. The idea that we should be better off waiting until the formation of the new government—a stable, not a provisional one—is just a screen, a clumsily proferred shield intended rather to avoid involvement, even though the circumstances are favorable. No, such views have not been heard in the offices of the government or in the corridors of the MNE, which invited us to participate in the reports and dialogue mentioned above. Nevertheless, we cannot declare ourselves satisfied with the establishment of a society for construction-assembly and hotels, restaurants, and complexes; the fact that discussions (not negotiations) have been opened with several large or small firms is not enough to optimistically conclude that the basic reform of privatization is already underway.

The problem also presents another aspect, which is as important and as thorny as negotiations with foreign factors, namely clarifying things domestically. Reassuring people, calming them. In other words, preparing the personnel for the great and very necessary, profound change of the economy, and of the economic thinking, of course. Mr. Adrian Severin, secretary of state at the MNE, stated quite frankly and seriously: "The government is facing difficulties and resistance from the inside, which we view as normal. Even from enterprise directors and other managerial cadres, who for the time being don't see the need for privatization." Well said, "for the time being." Not dramatizing things is also very wise. The reservations about privatization and a market economy come mostly from levels far lower than directors, namely from among the workers and foremen. Their opposition stems mostly from ignorance and instinct. Decentralization and privatization are equated with alienation, which is viewed as the root of all evil.

The idea is that we should all become active. Before anything else, we must set the economists in motion. They should go to people and explain to them, in plain language, what privatization means, what are the mechanisms of a market economy, and why it is undisputably necessary to abandon the leaking boat of old excessive centralization. The ministries must have educational programs. At their electoral meetings, the political parties are not evading the issue of privatization, but neither are they explaining it in detail. We have to admit that the same goes for the press. During this electoral campaign, while negotiations with foreign factors are laborious, if we can manage to thoroughly clarify things to our own people, thus dispelling completely unfounded fears and suspicion, the gains will be immeasurable. We will thus succeed in putting in motion the mass foundation of our material production, for the benefit of our rapid and certain progress.

## * Measures To Remedy Agricultural Crisis Listed

*90BA0082A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Apr 90 pp 1, 3*

[Professor Dr. C. Pintilie article: "Serious Situation in Agriculture, Urgent Measures Required"]

[Text] 1. The Romanian Management Society [SRM] is a nongovernmental body of scientific research not affiliated with any political party, recently established by changing the Enterprise Managerial Laboratory of the ASE [Academy of Economic Sciences], which was banned after 23 years of activity and reopened immediately after the 1989 revolution. SRM has 100 members: faculty staff, researchers, designers, specialists in various professions, and socioeconomic managers. As in the past, the SRM investigates the causes of existing shortcomings and the most efficient methods of economic development, and suggests solutions to the decision-making bodies.

2. Currently, SRM is receiving increasingly alarming reports from agricultural experts about the situation in that sector, and is coming to the conclusion that if urgent measures are not taken to deal with the threat, we are rapidly heading toward a real disaster in feeding the population. Consequently, we thought that it was our obligation to send an SOS message to the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council], the government, the political parties, and the mass media, which can make decisions and influence public opinion to create and develop a national consensus and unity of will.

The facts are known to almost everyone: delays in carrying out agricultural work; partial utilization at best of what the government put at the disposal of the sector; unjustified abandonment or great reduction of the areas sown to industrial plants, something that will result in great shortages of consumer supplies of sugar, oil, etc; reduced cultivation by some state agricultural enterprises of hybrid corn and sunflower, creating the danger that there will not be enough seed for the next crop; and measures taken by many cooperatives to plan far lower yields, which in some cases envisage half of the yields obtained in previous years. This is happening in spite of the government's measures designed to substantially raise prices as an incentive for agricultural production.

Another very damaging fact is that agricultural experts are being ignored and little used. The list of shortcomings in the agricultural sector is far longer than this. We will, however, stop here in order to express the conclusion that, while under the long years of dictatorship the peasants were told what to do, now that we have democracy and economic freedom, what is occurring in the agricultural sector is profoundly alarming: Those who have land seem to have forgotten their obligation to cultivate it on time in order to ensure food not only for themselves, but for the entire country. What we need to add is that agriculture is not like industry: Delays cannot be recouped; they cause irremediable losses of agricultural produce, which translate into less capability to supply the population. We cannot import food ad infinitum, not to mention that imports have to be paid for in hard currency. Where are we supposed to get this hard currency?

3. However, the greatest danger that is fast bringing us to the brink of disaster is not so much the above-mentioned shortcomings, but the increasingly persistent drought affecting important agricultural regions of the country, coming after a winter that was also dry. In some areas the fall crops are already beginning to suffer. For example, south of Bucharest, toward Giurgiu, some wheat crops are beginning to turn yellow. This is exacerbated by the fact that some counties are not making sufficient efforts to maintain soil humidity. For example, in Vaslui County a few days ago, 168,235 hectares belonging to agricultural production cooperatives and private farmers were to be harrowed and worked with disks, but only 73,201 hectares were thus treated, although all the necessary conditions were at hand for doing so, as the machinery stations have the required material.

Nevertheless, the disaster that is threatening us can be averted if we don't continue to passively wait for hypothetical rain, which if it comes, may come too late. We have 3.5 million hectares of irrigated land. If only 3 million hectares of them begin to be irrigated immediately, even in the case of protracted drought, we can secure at least the minimum quantities of agricultural produce required (including fodder). This is possible only if general and consistent efforts are made by all decisionmaking bodies to influence the public: the PNUC, the government, local bodies, political parties, and the mass media. Steps must be taken so that all the irrigation installations begin to work within one week. Certain ministries, too, can be involved in this national campaign, such as the Ministries of Machine Building Industry, Chemical Industry, and so forth. Some of the personnel of those ministries can be utilized to ensure the satisfactory functioning of the irrigation systems without thereby affecting the work of the respective ministries, because the personnel is already underemployed, although salaries continue to be paid.

The greatest priority now must be to ensure, without restrictions, everything that is necessary to fully utilize the existing conditions and means of production, beginning with the entire irrigation system, providing qualified personnel—including personnel from other ministries—fuel, energy, spare parts, plastic tubes, pipes, sprinklers, means of transportation, etc. For a short time the county bodies can mobilize local means of transportation and organize repairs, procure spare parts, etc. Also at local level, the communes can use cisterns and barrels to water the fields, with a view to ensuring at least partial local consumption.

Strict monitoring is required to eliminate the disinformation widely used under the dictatorship; such supervision can be provided not only hierarchically by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, but also by the population, who should be vitally interested in solving that problem. We also believe that irrigated land should no longer be divided into individual plots for a while, and that agricultural production cooperatives should no longer be dismantled without a decision to that effect by the respective general meetings. Generally speaking, dealing with problems apt to become sources of tension in villages should be postponed for later, so that people are not distracted from their main task, which is to cultivate the land and utilize the irrigation system, thus preempting negative consequences. In the present conditions, we believe it justified to decree some type of national state of emergency in this sector. It must be made clear that such an urgent problem cannot now be handled only by the Ministry of Agriculture.

4. The facts cited in this report are generally known. However, because of the political struggle and the inheritance of the past, when each one was responsible only for his particular duties, people are not yet realizing the magnitude of the dangers and of the disaster that is threatening all of us, and the fact that every wasted day means irreplaceable losses of food for the population. Consequently, immediate steps must be taken within the framework of a coordinated and firmly implemented plan. It would be absurd, and no one would forgive us if we did not promptly use the means we have to avert this catastrophe, in the name of the Romanian Management Society.

## * Recall of Ambassador to France Discussed

*90BA0081A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Apr 90 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Foreign Ministry spokesman Romulus Neagu by Florin-Gabriel Marculescu; place and date not given: "Scolding the Ambassador"—first paragraph is ROMANIA LIBERA introduction]

[Text] The French media reported that Mr. Alexandru Paleologu, who was appointed ambassador to Paris at the beginning of this year, was summoned home. I had seen Mr. Paleologu in Bucharest a few days ago, and I thought I could meet him again to ask him a few questions. I learned, however, that he returned to Paris yesterday morning. Seeking to find out details of this unusual situation, I asked Mr. Romulus Neagu, deputy minister of foreign affairs and spokesman of the ministry, who was kind enough to give me the following interview:

[Marculescu] Mr. Minister, it has been said that Ambassador Paleologu was recalled because he had made some nonconformist statements, that is, he expressed views opposed to those of our government. Please explain to us what really happened.

[Neagu] It is true that Ambassador Paleologu was recalled to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for consultations. This occurred after the ambassador publicly expressed some views about governmental measures or positions without first consulting the ministry, and about which we learned from the press. We were moreover surprised to find that his opinions and positions were in contradiction with the viewpoints and stands of the government he represents. Thus, to avert the irreparable, the ambassador was summoned for consultations and a thorough discussion on his role and duties. He had talks along this line with Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, and was also received by Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]. His attention was called to the rules of behavior expected from any diplomat. It seems that after that discussion he understood the role, rights, and duties incumbent on him as an ambassador, and he will act accordingly in the future. Today (19 April) he left Bucharest on his way back to Paris.

[Marculescu] Mr. Minister, could you give us more details? What were these deviations from the rules of diplomacy, or rather, what specific statements did Mr. Paleologu make that you viewed as damaging to our current interests?

[Neagu] First of all, I did not say that he made statements damaging to our current interests. I only said that Mr. Paleologu made statements which contradict the position of the government, whereas it is the obligation of any diplomat to correctly present and to promote the positions of the government he represents. At the same time, every diplomat, not to mention ambassador, has a right to his personal opinions. And if those opinions do not agree with those of his government, he can disassociate himself from the latter and ask to be recalled. If the situation becomes more complicated and the ambassador acts against the government's positions, then the more extreme step of recalling the ambassador is taken, which is not the case here, because Mr. Paleologu understood his role and returned to Paris with a clear understanding.

[Marculescu] Mr. Minister, before leaving for a new post, diplomats go through a preliminary stage of preparations. When he left the country to present his credentials, Mr. Paleologu must have known exactly what his job was and what the limits of diplomacy were?

[Neagu] If I am not mistaken, Mr. Paleologu was the first ambassador appointed after the Revolution and, the situation being special, he did not go through all the preparation stages customary for new ambassadors, especially for those without experience in the area. In view of his exceptional and well known intellectual qualities, it was assumed that he was familiar with these elementary norms. Except that in certain circumstances, he deemed himself entitled not to observe them in full. Now, however, he does have a better understanding of things.

[Marculescu] Could you cite one of the norms of diplomacy that Mr. Paleologu violated?

[Neagu] The most elementary rule of diplomacy is to not only present, but to promote the position of the country one is representing, as it is mapped out by the government in power.

[Marculescu] Please give us a specific example, so that the readers can understand what exactly is involved. If you can do so, of course.

[Neagu] You see, he made statements.

[Marculescu] At least one?!

[Neagu] I'll cite one of them. The ambassador is the representative of the chief of state, who is the president of the PNUC. At the same time, the council adopted—with the participation of all the political forces in the country and practically unanimously—an electoral law that envisages the election of a president. Nevertheless, the ambassador expressed views in favor of the monarchy, which is opposed to the position of the head of state he represents and of the PNUC, which is the state and parliamentary body in our country, as well as the position of the government that he is expected to represent. This is one example. There are others, but I believe that the problem has been resolved and that the ambassador will reflect the positions of our state, just as they are adopted by the bodies of state power.

[Marculescu] I understand, however, that an ambassador may have his own views and may express them as such, taking care to point out that they do not reflect the position of the government.

[Neagu] We are getting into a discussion of political principles. The ambassador must identify with the position he represents. Otherwise he is not an ambassador, but a private person.

## Surdu Pleads for MFN Status in Washington

*AU0905202590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1950 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—Returned from his visit to the U.S.A. as head of a Romanian governmental delegation at the invitation of the U.S. Senate and Agriculture Department, Mr. Victor Surdu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, stated that he discussed with Senator Robert Dole especially about the granting of the most-favoured-nation clause to Romania. "I proposed that this clause be given not to a party or political leader, Mr. Surdu said inter alia, but to the 23 million people who were political prisoners in their own country for over forty and a half decades [as received]; to the many who were forced

to leave their native land because of the treatment they had, to the tens of thousands of children born without their parents' will to the thousands of elders who perished because of the lack of medicines and food and to the young heroes dead for the December 1989 revolution. I also proposed that the granting of the clause be not conditioned by the results of the May 20 elections. Senator Robert Dole appreciated the fairness of our point of view and offered to contribute to achieving this legitimate right of the Romanian people."

Mr. Surdu also informed that he had lengthy talks with Clayton Yeuter, secretary of state at the U.S. Agriculture Department, with representatives of factories. Those talks were materialized in establishing cooperation actions for the modernization of fodder and edible oil production, the improvement of grains drying and storage technologies, for mutual exchanges of researchers and teaching staff. A first team of 20 experts in marketing and management will come to Romania next month for a first dialogue on the development in key agricultural branches.

## HDZ Maintains 'Overwhelming Lead' in Elections

*LD0905203990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Zagreb, 9 May (TANJUG)—According to reports compiled by this afternoon, the names of the 168 new assembly deputies elected in the second round of the multiparty elections in the Socialist Republic of Croatia are known.

This figure, added to results from the first round of elections, means so far the endorsement of the election of 308 deputies, or 85.11 percent of the 356 Assembly seats.

At a 9 May news conference, representatives of the republican Electoral Commission said that by 1800 [1600 GMT] there had as yet been no results from 16 wards. This month, the republican Electoral Commission will submit a final report on the election results to the president of the Socialist Republic of Croatia Assembly, whereupon the president is expected to convene the constituent session of the new Assembly.

The figures revealed tonight suggest once again the Croatian Democratic Community's [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ] overwhelming lead. The HDZ representatives have won 185 seats in the three assembly chambers. The Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Change [SKH-Stranka Demokratskih Promjena—SKH-SDP] has 57 deputies, and another 17 jointly with the Alliance of Socialists. There are also 12 independent deputies; nine from the Coalition of National Accord [Koalicija Narodnog Sporazuma—KNS]; eight from the Croat Democratic Party [Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka—HDS]; four from the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS]; three from the Alliance of Socialists; and eight from other political parties.

Of the total of 116 seats in the Chamber of Municipalities, 111 of them, or 95.69 percent, have been allotted to date. The HDZ representatives have already secured over half of the seats (56.90 percent). The SKH-SDP has 22 deputies (or 18.37 percent), and another nine together with the Alliance of Socialists. The HDS provides three deputies, the SDS and the KNS two each, the Alliance of Socialists one, while the remaining parties have six deputies.

Of the total of 80 seats in the Sociopolitical Chamber, 72, or 82 percent, had been allotted by this afternoon. The HDZ, with 51 elected deputies (or 68.75 percent of the total), has taken an even more convincing lead in this chamber. The SKH-SDP has as yet nine seats (or 11.25 percent), and another four seats jointly with the Alliance of Socialists. The KNS, the Alliance of Socialists, and the other parties have two deputies each, while one seat has been won by both the independents and the SDS.

Of the total of 160 seats in the largest chamber, the Chamber of Associated Labor, 120, or 75 percent, have been allotted to date. Here the HDZ is in the lead, too, having 68 deputies (42.50 percent). The SKH-SDP has, as yet, 26 deputies (16.25 percent), and four together with the Alliance of Socialists. There are 11 independent deputies: five are from the KNS and HDS respectively, and one from the SDS.

New data about the results of the multiparty elections in the Socialist Republic of Croatia are expected to be available on 10 May.

## HDZ Nominates Stjepan Mesic for Croat Premier

*LD0905205990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Zagreb, May 9 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ], the party which has won the majority in the multi-party elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, has nominated Stjepan Mesic as its candidate for republican premier. Mesic is the current secretary of this extremely nationalistic party.

This was announced today by CDU President Franjo Tudjman, who said that his party had won over fifty percent of the seats in the Parliament of this northwestern Yugoslav republic in the recent republican elections.

Mesic, 56, a lawyer, was mayor of the small Croatian town of Slavonska Orahovica. At the time of the Croatian nationalist movement of 1971, he was replaced because of nationalism and later sentenced to two years and two months in prison for hostile propaganda.

The latest figures released by the Croatian vote-counting committee show that, after two rounds of voting, 274 seats (76.97 percent) in the 356-seat tricameral republican Parliament have been filled so far. Of this number, the still incomplete returns show that the CDU won 176 seats (49.44 percent) and the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes (LCC-PDC)—48 seats (13.48 percent).

The new deputies to the Croatian Parliament include 15 candidates nominated jointly by the LCC-PDC and the League of Socialists of Croatia (LSC), 6 of the Coalition of National Agreement (CNA), 5 of the Croatian Democratic Party, 4 of the Serbian Democratic Party (Serbs make up around 15 percent of Croatia's population), 2 of the LSC, 11 independent candidates, and 7 candidates of other parties.

The CDU has majority in each of the three chambers of the Croatian Parliament and in the most important, the Socio-Political Chamber, it has won a majority of nearly two-thirds.

The Croatian vote-counting committee informs that the turn-out of the electorate for the second round of voting on May 6 and 7 was nearly 10 percent less than in the first round. Some 76 percent of the Croatian electorate voted in the elections.

The Presidency of the Socialist Alliance - League of Socialists of Croatia met today and decided to convene an inaugural Congress of the Croatian Socialist Party on June 2. The programme of the Socialist Party will be based on the traditions and achievements of the modern European left.

### Tudjman Rumored To Choose Serbian Vice Premier

*AU0905142790 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Raskovic, Vice Premier?"]

[Text] Zagreb—As we have learned from reliable sources, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] president, intends to suggest to Professor Jovan Raskovic, member of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science and president of the Serbian Democratic Party, that this party put forward a person who would hold the post of one of the vice premiers in the new Croatian Assembly. It has been stated in the party's leadership that it is the HDZ's desire to demonstrate goodwill toward and understanding for the aspirations of the Serbian section of the population of Croatia. Dr. Tudjman probably decided on this proposal after the Serbian Democratic Party achieved very good results in northern Dalmatia, particularly in Knin, and in some other communes where a considerable section of the population are ethnic Serbs.

So it remains to be seen what Raskovic will say. What is interesting in this context is the interview that Raskovic gave to POLITIKA in its 6 May edition. The head of the Serbian Democratic Party stressed that his party has quite clearly come out "against speculation over a state for the Serbian people in Croatia" and that Serbs in Croatia will always support Croatia as their homeland, but they will be critical toward any bad regime and will not put up with ultimatums from anyone. Raskovic stated in this interview: "The Croatian Democratic Community has been spoken about as a loud minority that is manipulated, now it can be seen that this is a quite immature and untrue calculation. The HDZ's triumph was clear and unambiguous. It is a reality that cannot be ignored. There can be no more guessing over the stand that the mainstream of the Croatian electorate has taken and its aspirations."

### Slovene Assembly Leaders Elected

*LD1005081390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1943 GMT 9 May 90*

[Summary] Ljubljana, 9 May (TANJUG)—Today's continuation of the first session, adjourned on 8 May, of the new Slovene Assembly was marked by disputes about some issues outside the agenda and by procedural problems, such as whether the Assembly should elect the leadership of each chamber before the session, or whether it should proceed under the assumption that the electoral verification of the deputies needs no further formal endorsement. A proposal was adopted tht telegrams be sent to Gorbachev and Bush regarding the Baltic republics.

Having to choose between the proposed candidates for the post of Assembly president—France Bucar, proposed by the Demos coalition, and Jozef Skoljc, proposed by the Liberal Party—the Assembly elected the former. It also elected Vitodrag Pukl and Vane Gosnik, both proposed by the Demos coalition, as vice presidents of the Assembly.

### New President Speaks

*LD1005082190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2012 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 May (TANJUG)—Having constituted this assembly, we have ended a civil war that has been dismembering and mutilating us for almost half a century, France Bucar, newly elected Slovene Assembly president, stressed in his inaugural address.

Bucar maintains that this is a matter of redressing that fateful delusion that has hit the Slovene people harder than many other catastrophies in their national history. In Bucar's words, the civil war cannot be ended until an end is put to the monopoly of the political party that has instigated this war, driven precisely by its intention to usurp the monopoly of power and to redesign, from the position of such power, the nation's fate to fit its notions.

The new Slovene Assembly president stressed, with pleasure, that the Demos, which is in power, and the opposition did not hold opposing positions in their approach to the most significant issues regarding the people. He mentioned the adoption of a new Slovene constitution as the most significant task of the new assembly.

### Kucan Addresses Assembly

*LD1005090390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 May (TANJUG)—Following the swearing-in of the president and members of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, Milan Kucan addressed the deputies oy all three Assembly chambers, saying that after the elections and the understandable heightened differences, the time has come for us to prove our ability by our actions and by our desire to really affirm preelection promises of improved conditions in our lives.

We must unite all the creative forces of our people and of the Republic of Slovenia, on which our common future and the better life of our people depend. In the democratic election process of the previous weeks, the people expressed their concern over this, as well as their hope and trust. It is now our duty to justify this trust, Milan Kucan said.

"It is not a question of the revival of a false, orchestrated, or even imposed unity, but of a natural and ethically founded need for the fullest possible use of all the creative forces in those program directions and aims that are closest to our common expectations," Kucan said. With the constitution of this assembly, on the basis of the wishes expressed by our people in the elections, we also are embracing and legalizing the differences that are an irreplaceable part of life and also should be the natural basis for the organization of society.

Speaking of the present political pluralism, which was confirmed at the elections, Milan Kucan said that so far it fortunately has not been lacking in responsibility and concern for the most successful path for the Slovene people, society, and state.

We should do everything, Kucan continued, so that we do not lose sight of this idea of seeking national consensus in the future. Kucan expressed the hope that the parliamentary majority will be able to take upon itself the greater part of the responsibility for this, and that the newly formed opposition will take on its share, and that it will not see its role purely as one of opposition, but will creatively and soberly accept its part of the responsibility. This will be all the easier, according to Kucan, if when forming the government, which after all will bear the burden of fulfilling the postelection expectations, expertise, ability, and reputation prevail, rather than allowing the party political affiliation of its members to predominate.

Going on to refer to attitudes toward Yugoslavia, Kucan said that after so many years of coexistence in Yugoslavia, it can be said quite clearly that it is impossible to have a Yugoslavia founded on the hegemony of a single political party. According to Kucan, the main reason for the long-standing crisis that has shaken our society shouldl be sought precisely in centralism and hegemony.

"This assembly, presidency, and all other democratic institutions representing the sovereignty of the Slovene nation and the citizens of Slovenia are faced with the difficult and responsible task of finding in the shortest possible time the answer to the question being asked both here, and increasingly frequently in other parts of the country. Is Yugoslavia is a viable proposition for an attainable future," Kucan said.

In connection with the strengthening of Slovene independence, Milan Kucan stressed: It has become clear that conducting an effective independent development policy also calls for political independence. The consequence of this, according to Kucan, is the demand for establishing a confederal status for Slovenia within Yugoslavia.

That demand, Kucan continued, has matured now into a general concurrence in Slovenia. "This imposes on us the responsibility for reaching such a solution in a peaceful way, with a firm and sensible negotiating position. This position," in Kucan's assessment, "envisions that a democratic, pluralistic system should be affirmed in all republics." The answer to the question of whether such a solution can be legally realized within the framework of internal laws, or only within the framework of international laws, Kucan said, depends on the willingness of all participants to involve themselves in a democratic, pragmatic, realistic, and tolerant dialogue through their legitimate representatives, once all republics have parliaments elected in free, multiparty elections, and governments answerable to those parliaments.

As an advocate of realistic politics, as he put it, Kucan proposed that the Assembly should show statesmanship both in drawing up the new Slovene constitution and in formulating the negotiating powers for the future system of relations within Yugoslavia, and should leave the door open for various democratic options. Since Yugoslavia is a multinational state, these can only be options that respect the equality and interests of all nations, and primarily their natural right to self-determination.

"The only thing acceptable to us as a common decision will be the result of the free decision of this assembly or a state referendum," Milan Kucan stressed, adding: "We do not impose our views on anyone."

We recognize for all others in Yugoslavia the same right we demand for ourselves, Kucan stressed, asserting that the future of Yugoslavia is founded only on free cooperation. We will resist any imposition as resolutely as we have done up to the present time.

In this connection, Kucan emphasized that only the complete sovereignty of the Slovene nation and its state is the natural and constitutional basis on which we are prepared to talk and negotiate with the other nations of Yugoslavia about the common interests we want to realize and the new, confederal position of Slovenia in Yugoslavia. This is why, he added, we must also draft and adopt a new Slovene constitution. It should be founded on a thorough study of the economic, social, cultural, political, defense, and all other aspects determining the present and future position of Slovenia in Yugoslavia, Europe, and the world in general.

According to Kucan, all activity on drafting the new Slovene constitution should be conceived as creating at the same time the bases for a draft confederal agreement that we, either alone or with others, will put forward for debate and adoption by all the nations of Yugoslavia. "If they also have in their republics, together with the nationalities with which they live, common interests of existential importance that they want to realize in a community of equal nations of Yugoslavia and their republics—on which there should be no doubt—then it is realistic to expect that we will be able to reach agreement on a new form of togetherness in Yugoslavia, or otherwise part company as peacefully as possible," Kucan stressed. According to him, it would be reasonable for the Slovene Assembly to send an initiative for starting such talks with the assemblies of all Yugoslav republics when the procedure for drafting the Slovene constitution begins.

Kucan expressed the expectation that the Slovene nation, the Italian and Hungarian nationalities, and all citizens of Slovenia, by affirming the confederal position of Slovenia, will show the same common political desire they expressed at the recent elections, with the unambiguous message that profound social changes are necessary.

Speaking of the economic sphere, Kucan stressed that the revitalization of the economy entails renewing its capacity for the production of a steady surplus, meaning accumulation, as well as radically cutting expenditure, particularly in the budgetary spending, including military spending within this framework.

Regarding Slovenia's position in Europe and the world, Milan Kucan noted that the Slovene nation as a sovereign people wants not only a geographical linkup to Europe, but also a spiritual, economic, political, cultural, and civilizing one. In keeping with this, it must see to its international affirmation and devise its policy of international links and cooperation.

Drawing his address to a close, Kucan stressed that the world should not be approached conceitedly, as though we had nothing to learn from it. Nor should it be approached in a parochial way, without national pride and dignity, as though we had nothing to offer to this world. We can offer our culture, harmonious intranational relations, and our social and political experience, at least.

"Slovenia no longer can be captured by the image of an ethnic community somewhere along the border between Central Europe and the Balkans, kept in the minds of those who decide on the world's new outline, as it were," Kucan said. According to Kucan, this is the necessary priority task of this assembly, government, and presidency.

### Labor Chamber Elects Leaders

*LD1005101190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2158 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 May (TANJUG)—In a secret ballot, Joze Zupancic was elected president of the Slovene Assembly's Chamber of Associated Labor on 9 May. He received 48 votes. The only other candidate, Demos representative Andrej Murn, received 26 votes. Bogo Rogina was elected vice president of the Chamber of Associated Labor, with 46 votes. His rival, Francek Rudolf (Demos), received 29 votes. This completes the composition of the new Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. The other two chambers elected their leaderships at an interrupted consitutive session on 7 May.

### Serbian Council on Economic Ties With Slovenia

*LD0905184390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)—The future development of economic relations between Serbia and Slovenia depends primarily on citizens themselves and on economic subjects. An important influence on this will be the possibility for establishing equal economic ties, and also Slovenia's attitude towards Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. This is how the prospects for economic cooperation between the two republics are seen in a report on the state of economic relations between Serbia and Slovenia that was adopted today by the Serbian Assembly Executive Council and that was drawn up at the request of the SFRY Presidency.

The appraisal goes on to specify that it is felt that a different attitude on the part of the citizens and enterprises of Serbia towards Slovene goods and industry is hard to expect until Slovenia's attitude towards the issues of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia is significantly changed. Serbia's state bodies cannot easily influence this.

The report also cites several details that illustrate the unequal relationship between the Serbian and Slovene economies. At the end of last year, there were more than 500 Slovene businesses represented in Serbia, while in Slovenia, there were 144 from Serbia. Moreover, in 1988 there were three and a half times more economic subjects whose headquarters are in Slovenia located in Serbia, than the other way around. The fact is also highlighted that Slovene deliveries to Serbia were 60 percent higher than those from Serbia to Slovenia, even though Serbia contributes twice as much to the creation of Yugoslavia's social product.

It is also considered that a factor contributing to the decline in economic cooperation between the two republics is the changes in the economic system that demand observance, above all, of market criteria in business that presupposes a more rational approach to the selection of business partners and the purchase of goods under the most favorable conditions. On this basis, selection is made not only with regard to enterprises from Slovenia, but also between enterprises within Serbia itself. The liberalization of imports has also given rise to the reorientation of consumers toward the purchase of imported goods, which has hit manufacturers throughout the country, and particularly in Slovenia, which has the highest prices, states the report on the state of economic relations between Serbia and Slovenia states.

### Bosnia-Hercegovina Borders 'Closed Issue'

*LD0905201190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 May (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency has said that attacks on the integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina are

continuing. It is again stressed that the republican borders within Yugoslavia should be considered a closed issue and that Bosnia-Hercegovina would use all the means of a law-governed state to protect the integrity of the republic, its position, and its equal role in our federation.

This is stressed in the 9 May statement from the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, which also examined the security situation in Velika Kladusa. It was stressed in this connection that the republican state bodies should become further involved and assist the institutions of the system in this area.

## 'Direction of Progress' in Bosnia Uncertain

*AU0905192790 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 May 90 p 4*

[Mustafa Mujagic commentary: "The Bosnian Political Melting Pot"]

[Text] Created in 1918 as a conglomerate of different political, socioeconomic, social, and cultural circumstances, Yugoslavia has acquired diversity as the basic characteristic of its economic, social, and political structure. However, the chance of progress through the wealth of forms and ways of political and social development—which was otherwise stressed the most in the criticism of Stalinism (the diversity of roads in socialism)—has been quickly compromised by the revival and imposition of uniformity or ideological and political monopoly.

### Hindrances From the Beginning

There has already been a radical break with this concept, but to varying degrees. In this respect too, the difference in the level of development has put its stamp on the situation and the processes that are under way. The most developed have gone the furthest here too, and by accepting and adapting to the new social processes (pluralism of ownership and the corresponding political pluralism), they have created conditions for new progress. However, in other parts of the country, these processes are only inchoate and the situation in them is a hindrance to the development of the whole. The surviving forms of monolithism are an added burden on these processes.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has been proclaimed a community that balances the processes and tendencies that are appearing in Yugoslavia, and it has been stressed that these processes settle and develop here and find their middle ground. This has put this republic in the position of being a conscious obstacle or proponent of planned conservatism according to which it is better that everywhere lag behind a little than to "rush" too much. This position is justified by the fact that Bosnia is the place where the forces of the eternal charges from the northwest and southeast of our country meet and are somehow neutralized, and where the forces of national contradictions, above all Serbo-Croatian ones, are also neutralized. Bosnia has thus consciously agreed to some kind of delay in development. It was the same concerning the strategic and economic concepts of political leadership formed after 1948.

The idea of Bosnia as a catalyst, a neutralizing field for the opposites in Yugoslavia, and as its own kind of anchor for our development, or rather for the situation in the harbor of self-managing socialism, has shown itself to be an error from the point of view of the logic of economic and social development. All this and quite a few more original Bosnian political inventions have helped Bosnia lag behind in political development so that clear signs of the direction of progress cannot yet be perceived here and a certain fluid situation is maintained.

It will be difficult to quickly apply the leading ideas of the new economic program in Bosnia. Mainly heavy industry and mining prevail here, where it is difficult to shift into smaller, more flexible forms of production with the participation of joint or private capital. This conservative and employee-heavy industry still relies on the largest share of social accumulation, so the lack of capital is even more obvious here. This stalling in economic policy hinders political and ideological pluralization so that if it does exist, it is verbal, temporary, foundationless, and superficial.

### Imitations Against the Law

This situation also determines the behavior of politicians. They have taken great steps in an attempt to adapt to the new trends. They have come out for the pluralization of ownership; they have supported Ante Markovic's program; and they have supported in principle political and ideological pluralization;, but in practice this is still in its infancy and no significant inroads have been made. In Bosnia-Hercegovinan political life, there is no real alternative political force, at least not of a type that would be legalized within the framework of the political system and legal order. The only progress in this sphere has been the endeavor to pluralize the former front forces.

Thus, the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina has been registered as a party; the Socialist Alliance is forming into a party; and the youth federation has begun similar processes. However, it is impossible to say that these changes on the political map of Bosnia really mean pluralization in the sense of the expression of all interests and aspirations, originating on the principle of the pluralism of ownership and ideological and political pluralism. A civil alternative is lacking and even the left-wing solutions in politics are still not formed. When progress was expected in this respect, the forces that fear pluralization in all areas of social life produced a law that banned the formation of political parties, organizations, and citizens' associations on the basis of nationality or religion.

According to the concept of its initiators, this law should have prevented national differentiation and conflicts on this basis. Unfortunately, it produced quite opposite

results. Nominally non-national parties have been set up that are more or less branches of parties in other republics, as well as different imitation parties, without national life and relations simultaneously being able to be appropriately expressed in political life on a pluralist basis. This law provoked justified reactions and it is expected to be changed soon. It must be admitted that the issue of national parties is a sensitive one and, under the influence of the idea that nations are spontaneously inclined toward mutual conflicts and settling of accounts, one can fear excesses. However, we did not avoid national excesses under conditions of political monolithism either, so it can justifiably be said that a large part of the public in Bosnia, and even a considerable part of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, actually behaves according to the criteria of the consideration and representation of national interests. Therefore, many people rightly think that the expression of this suppressed and concealed imitation national political thought and behavior would be far better than legal prohibition, as this must lead to the strengthening of real yet camouflaged national political classification and behavior.

**Fears and Stresses**

These fears are being magnified today by the main political stresses on the Bosnian scene—the conduct of parties from two neighboring republics—either by clearly undermining Bosnia-Hercegovina, or through ambiguous speeches, or through complete passivity regarding extremely aggressive behavior and stands that bring into question the existence of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a state, and particularly Muslims as a people. Therefore, the backbone of political thought and life in Bosnia today is actually formed by the defense of the state and legal identity and integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which will probably also create the necessary majority in the public and the ruling political force in the republic so that all vascillators will be eliminated from the political scene. People in Bosnia, or at least the circle of thinking people, are aware that Bosnians must find a language of understanding for the problems and aspirations of their neighbors both in Croatia and Serbia, particularly at these times of transition when a new political structure is being created in our country. However, they are also aware that understanding and cooperation can and must be sought only on the basis of total mutual respect, recognition, and consideration of the will of the peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the historical-political, legal, and historical truths and facts in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

**Surprises Are Possible**

The leading personality on the current political scene in Bosnia- Hercegovina, Nijaz Durakovic, has found himself caught between the quite conservative Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the demands of the strong intellectual forces that have a certain influence on the party Presidium itself and that appear not only as party, but also as still uncrystallized forces of the left wing in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, certain dissatisfaction has been expressed concerning the behavior of the League of Communists with regard to parallel events, like those in Duvno or the events in Sipovo and Nevesinje. If the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina does not quickly rid itself of the conservative forces that aspire to a reintegration of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina into a so-called unified League of Communists of Yugoslavia, one cannot speak about a great future for it in the perspectives of pluralist democracy. It is indicative that an increasing number of intellectuals have been expressing a critical stand regarding Nijaz Durakovic.

Other political forces that exist and that have been appearing, like the liberals and democrats, are not sufficiently formed as regards their programs, policies, or action and are still not present on the public battlefield so that they cannot be talked about as real and recognizable political forces.

Everything, therefore, is still fluid in Bosnia, so a surprise is possible.

## National Equality Party Planned in Montenegro

*AU0805102390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 90 p 4*

[S. Vukasinovic report: "Equality in First Place"]

[Excerpts] Titograd—It could even have been expected: As of 26 May, the Party of National Equality will be part of the political scene in Montenegro, as its organizational committee has announced. It has a clear program typed on five pages.

"For the Party of National Equality, the national issue is primarily a democratic issue. By consistently implementing and respecting basic human and civil rights, scrapping the single-party monopoly on power, and establishing a democratic order, the opportunities are reduced for abuse of the national issue. The Party of National Equality is an organizational and political way of rallying together, expressing, and representing the common and individual interests of all peoples and nationalities in Montenegro—Montenegrins, Muslims, Albanians, Serbs, Croats, and others—with the aim of more fully exercising equality and parity."

Proceeding from demands for a federal democratic community of equal peoples and nationalities based on the principles of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], in which Tito (and his contemporaries and fighters) at the head of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia played a revolutionary and progressive role even in the most difficult moments of our history, for a Yugoslavia to suit everyone in which there will be no "foreigners" and in which not one inhabitant feels like a foreigner, and for a Yugoslavia without nationalism, totalitarianism, and hegemonism, this

party will advocate that the Socialist Republic of Montenegro Constitution decisively guarantees the equality and parity of all peoples and nationalities who live in Montenegro. It is particularly committed to the realization of national equality as concerns economic, social, scientific, cultural, educational, and political issues. [passage omitted]

Along with the slogan: "May this land continue to belong to us all," the program was signed by Rasim Sahman, Asim Zecevic, and Dzavid Sabovic on behalf of the founding committee.

## Montenegrin Communists 'Unable to Finance' Paper

*AU0805102090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 90 p 4*

[S.V. report: "Without Money and Founder"]

[Excerpt] Titograd—As regards an initiative by the Editorial Board of KOMUNIST for Montenegro concerning the formation of a socially owned enterprise, the Central Committee [CC] Presidium of the League of Communists of Montenegro has officially announced that, due primarily to the financial and material situation, it is not able to continue to contribute to financing the KOMUNIST newspaper.

Therefore, it cannot endorse the initiative of the KOMUNIST Editorial Board for the League of Communists of Montenegro CC to be the founder of a future socially owned enterprise. [passage omitted]

## Markovic on Reforms, Political Events

*AU1005115190 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 90 p 22*

[TANJUG report: "The Reform Cannot Be Stopped Even by Force"]

[Text] Zagreb—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic talked to Zagreb Television journalists Milan Gavrovic and Ankica Barbir-Mladinovic during the peak viewing time on 3 May about the realization of his reforms and political events in the country and Europe.

The purpose of our reforms is to create prerequisites for starting a new development cycle in the country along with the development of democracy, citizens' freedoms, and pluralism, the FEC president said, explaining the efforts that are made to carry out reforms in the economic and political systems.

### Government's Successes

Markovic then went on to explain the results achieved by the government, saying that they are considerable. He substantiated his claim with the data on large foreign exchange reserves, zero percent inflation, a fall in foreign debts, and the praise from abroad. President Markovic also announced that restrictions imposed on banks will be lifted this month. He said that negotiations that were held with foreign financial institutions resulted in favorable loans that will mainly be used for setting up small and medium-sized enterprises (which could employ between 1.5 and 2.5 million people), as well as for the development of the infrastructure, mainly roads that would quickly link us with Europe. This particularly refers to the completion of the Brotherhood and Unity highway and the highway along the Adriatic coast that would go all the way to Skopje. He also mentioned the significance of the Belgrade-Budapest highway.

### Protection From Revanchism

A considerable part of the conversation was devoted to political events. It began with the premier's famous statement following the interruption of the 14th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that the country will nevertheless continue to function.

This country is not the property of any party, Markovic said, stressing that the FEC's program is a Yugoslav and market-oriented program. Assessing the elections in Croatia, Markovic stressed that our system has never been as totalitarian as the systems in some other countries in East Europe but that in this process of emancipation some things are not assuming their starting but rather their finishing positions. In this context, he explained the rise in national aspirations and the promotion of national traits as dominant elements.

The process of new political currents and aspirations has not only started in Croatia and Slovenia. The FEC is also aware of some negative phenomena and is, therefore, preparing systemic and legal provisions as a protection against revanchism.

### The Name Is Not Important

One particular question referred to what kind of Yugoslavia we were building and whether resources from some parts of the country are being transferred to other parts. The FEC president said that he is not in favor of any kind of centralism, but a system that would ensure the autonomy of citizens, enterprises, and republics along with the unity necessary for Yugoslavia to function as a modern state. Whether this country would be a federation, confederation, or something else is not important.

"If we want a modern, market-oriented economy, we must not get angry if income is transferred from the bad to the good ones. The question of underdeveloped regions and solidarity—which is tackled in all countries—is another matter," Markovic said.

### Changes Are Not Bypassing the Yugoslav People's Army Either

Another question referred to the position of the Yugoslav People's Army in view of the current changes. Stressing that the Yugoslav People's Army was founded

during the people's liberation war and that it was tempered in subsequent stages, Markovic said that the Army is also undergoing changes. The military expenditure has been reduced from 5.2 to 4.3 percent of the national product. He said that in comparison with Greece, France, or Germany, Yugoslavia does not have a numerically large army.

Answering the final question on whether "reforms could be toppled," Markovic said that they could not be stopped even with force. He explained his view by saying that nobody could now deprive the citizens of the right to have a convertible dinar, reinstate inflation, or put a stop to democratic processes, freedom, and pluralism.

### Draft Law on Citizens Associations

*AU1005133690*

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 4 May on page 4 carries the approximately 2,200-word text of the "Proposed Law on Citizens Forming Associations, Social Organizations, and Political Organizations on the Territory of the SFRY," under the headline of "One Hundred Citizens—A Party." The law is split into six sections and 26 articles.

The first section is entitled "Basic Provisions." Article 2 in this section states the following:

"Organizations cannot be founded if their programmatic and statutory goals are aimed at violently destroying the constitutionally established order, threatening the country's territorial integrity and independence, violating the freedoms and rights of people and citizens that are guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution, and fomenting national, racial, and religious hatred and intolerance."

Article 5 in the same section says: "In order to achieve its goals and carry out its tasks, an organization is to collects funds from membership fees, voluntary contributions, gifts, legacies, and other sources in line with the law.

"A political organization cannot collect funds from abroad in order to achieve its aims and tasks."

Section II is entitled the "Founding of an Organization" and includes Article 9, which states: "An organization can be founded by at least 100 adult citizens."

Section III is entitled the "Registration of an Organization" and deals with the procedure for registering organizations. According to the articles in this section, political organizations are registered solely on the basis of a notification to the appropriate bodies, rather than on the issuing of a permit.

Section IV is entitled the "Cessation of an Organization" and sets out the procedure for organizations to disband.

Section V, entitled "Punitive Provisions," deals with the punishments or fines that can be handed down to organizations for certain activities.

Section VI is entitled "Temporary and Final Provisions" and consists of the final three articles. Article 24 reads: "Existing associations, social organizations, alliances, and political organizations will harmonize their general acts with the provisions in this law within six months of this law coming into effect."

Article 25 reads: "Officials mentioned in Article 16, point 2 of this law will present the regulations outlined in this article within three months of this law coming into effect.

Article 26 states the following: "This law comes into effect on the eighth day after it is published in the 'Official Gazetteer of the SFRY,' and will be applied from [no date as published]."

### Military Spokesman Says No to National Armies

*LD0905190390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, May 9 (TANJUG)—Demands for a complete subordination of the Yugoslav Armed Forces to the republican assemblies are unacceptable, Federal Defence Secretariat Spokesman Colonel Vuk Obradovic told his weekly press conference here on Wednesday [9 May].

Under the constitution, the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia are united and under the command of the country's Presidency, said Colonel Obradovic. He described the concept of military organization involving the national armies as completely contrary to the constitutional commitments of Yugoslavia as a federal state.

The demands for such armies have been made so far by Dr Franjo Tudjman, leader of the right-wing nationalist Croatian Democratic Union which is about to take over from the Communists after the recent multiparty elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, and Mirko Jovic, leader of the Serbian People's Renewal.

The Yugoslav People's Army wholeheartedly supports the democratization of Yugoslav society, but this does not imply subverting the constitutional order by force, re-tailoring the internal boundaries or breaking up the country, the army spokesman pointed out.

### Veterans Protest Havel Statement on World War

*LD0905172290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 9 May 90*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 may (TANJUG)—The Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia [SUBNOR] Presidium today expressed its indignation at the statement by CSFR President Vaclav Havel in connection with the 45th anniversary of the end of World War II in which he made no mention of Yugoslavia's contribution to the struggle against fascist occupiers.

The SUBNOR statement, forwarded to the CSFR Embassy, with a request for it to be passed on to Vaclav

Havel, stresses that on behalf of the veterans of the Yugoslav national liberation war, the SUBNOR Federal Board Presidium received with indignation the statement by the CSFR president that made no mention of Yugoslavia's contribution to our joint antifascist struggle while at the same time permitting the impermissible lapse of including among the victors mention of some armies that fought virtually to the end of the war on the side of the Axis powers.

President Havel's statement, says the release, has rendered a disservice not only to Yugoslav war veterans, but to all its nations, too, who alone in Europe and with weapons in their hands staged an insurrection at the beginning of July 1941 and freed their own country. [passage omitted]

### New Political Weekly in Hungarian Language

*AU0805172590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 May 90 p 3*

[Zuzana Serences report: "Weekly for 'Other Public'"]

[Excerpts] Novi Sad—Judging by everything, it will be difficult for the new Hungarian-language weekly NAPLO (which means a journal in translation) that is supposed to appear this week to register itself in the records of Yugoslav journalism and publishing only as yet another new publication. This will, above all, be the first private paper published in Hungarian in our country. Its founders are Novi Sad Television journalists Gabor Bodis and Arpad Nemet. The publication of this weekly will also mean the appearance of the first political magazine in this language, because the weekly 7-NAP, as the founders say, is only a family paper. [passage omitted]

The new weekly's founders have mentioned the names of some of the future permanent associates: Aleksandar Tijanic, Veton Suroi, Jelena Lovric, Gojko Marinkovic, Dusan Sekulic, and Gordana Grbic. They will also engage correspondents from Los Angeles, London, Vienna, Paris, and Tel Aviv. They will also have permanent correspondents in Belgrade and Budapest and will employ the most prominent Hungarian-language journalists in our country.

Arpad Nemet said that the list of the future associates is a good indication of what the weekly will write about. Its articles will be professional articles reflecting the subjective views of their authors, and every article will be signed by its author. Gabor Bodis said that the masthead of the paper will also read: Liberal paper. [passage omitted]

### FEC To Assume Control of BORBA

*LD1005124190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0844 GMT 10 May 90*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—BORBA, until recently the newspaper of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY], will be taken over by the Federal Executive Council. Officially, BORBA, which recently removed the slogan "Workers of the World Unite" from its masthead, will become a newspaper with the task of disseminating information of interest to the Federation. The money for financing the paper will come from the federal budget. In addition to the money, the federal government will also decide on the editor in chief of the paper.

The proposal for the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber to pass a decision to this effect was submitted on 10 May by the Assembly's Information Commission. The SFRY Assembly will also take over Radio Yugoslavia, film newsreels, "Yugoslav Review," and "International Affairs." [passage omitted]

### Romanian Prime Minister Arrives for Visit

*LD0905083890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0743 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman arrived in Belgrade today on a one-day working visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic. At Belgrade Airport, Petre Roman was met by his host Ante Markovic, federal Energy and Industry Secretary Stevan Santo, and FEC General Secretary Zoran Miskovic.

On his visit to Yugoslavia, the Romanian prime minister is accompanied by Electric Power Minister Adrian Georgescu and Assistant Machine-Building Industry Minister Adrian Pintilie.

Official talks between Prime Minister Markovic and Roman started in the Palace of the Federation immediately after the arrival of the Romanian delegation.

### Markovic Talks With Roman

*LD0905170790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)—Talks began in Belgrade on 9 May between Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic and Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, who arrived this morning for a one-day working visit to Yugoslavia. The general impression is that the deep-seated social, political, and economic changes in both countries during the past few months have caused the talks to be held in an entirely new way.

At the beginning of the talks, a short exchange of views was held between the delegations that on the Yugoslav side, in addition to Prime Minister [as received] Markovic, was made up of federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar; federal Energy and Industry Secretary Steven Santo; and Boro Denkov, SFRY ambassador in Bucharest. On the Romanian side, in addition to Prime Minister Roman; Electric Power Minister Adrian Georgescu; Deputy Machine Building Minister Adrian Pintilie; and Dumitru Nicolaescu, deputy minister of chemical and petrochemical industry, are participating.

Prime Ministers Markovic and Roman continued their talks in the presence of federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar. The prime ministers informed each other about internal developments in the two countries and reform processes in Yugoslavia and Romania that, according to them, provided fresh potentials for dynamizing relations in all spheres. The latest develoments in East Europe, democratization processes and new type of relations in this part of the world, and cooperation in the Balkans were also considered during the talks. Romania expressed an interest in joining the Alpe-Adria grouping and in Danube-basin cooperation.

In the talks between the two prime ministers, there was evidence of a similarity and identity of views. It was emphasized that developments in Europe were opening up prospects for an even closer cooperation and promotion of security and peace on the continent.

At the same time as the meeting between the prime ministers, talks were held between the delegations led, respectively, by federal Energy and Industry Secretary Steven Santo and Electric Power Minister Adrian Georgescu. During the meeting, all aspects of bilateral cooperation were examined in depth. It was agreed that the present forms of cooperation were not satisfactory, that they are far removed from realities, and that they should be abandoned.

The delegations agreed that long-term agreements on economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Romania had to be changed radically and that cooperation protocols should not be wish lists but should reflect realistic opportunities of the two economies. An analysis was carried out of the causes of stagnation in the implementation of the protocol on economic cooperation during the current year, and satisfaction was noted that the value of trade in both directions during the first four months of this year was balanced.

Special attention was paid to those spheres where future cooperation can be advanced and developed most; it was concluded that these are chemical industry, ferrous metallurgy, and machine manufacturing, the ones where the best results have already been achieved. It was also realized that cross-border local trade should be revitalized, something that so far has regularly been planned but has hardly ever been put into practice.

The delegations of the two countries also considered briefly ecological problems and concluded that cooperation in this sphere also ought to be advanced and developed.

Prior to the continuation of the second round of his talks with Ante Markovic, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman will have separate talks with SFRY Presidency Vice President Borisav Jovic and President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic later on 9 May.

## Roman Meets Jovic

*LD0905171590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Dr. Borisav Jovic today received Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, who is paying a short working visit to our country at the invitation of Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic. A lengthy cordial conversation was held in the presence of federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar, and of the people accompanying the Romanian prime minister. The conversation covered current issues of promoting cooperation between the two neighboring countries in the bilateral, regional, and wider European spheres. Special reference was made to the current changes in Romania and to the reforms in the Yugoslav economy and society. Both sides stressed the need for the traditional friendship between the peoples of both countries to find its fuller reflection in all areas of future cooperation.

## Talks With Markovic

*LD0905223990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)—FEC [Federal Ecexutive Council] President Ante Markovic and Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman and their associates on 9 May conducted the final round of talks that began in the morning with the arrival of the Romanian delegation in Belgrade. They conducted an in-depth, intensive exchange of views on all aspects of bilateral relations and trends in Europe and the region.

Markovic and Roman discussed in detail the rights and position of the minorities in the two countries in the context of the completely new situation in Romania and in Yugoslavia. The importance was underlined of the Serbian and Croatian minorities in Romania and the Romanian minority in Yugoslavia as bridges in the development of relations. Readiness was expressed to bring the position of the Yugoslav minorities in Romania into line with the democratic processes taking place in this country.

The two prime ministers also discussed the position of Romania in the Nonaligned Movement and its desire to move closer to the movement. The two sides agreed to hold a session of the Yugoslav-Romanian committee for economic, scientific and technical cooperation as early as June to finalize proposals initiated in Belgrade on 9 May for extending economic cooperation. The two premiers discussed the preparation of a comprehensive document on environmental protection and the further improvement and expansion of border area trade.

Prime Ministers Markovic and Roman also examined the recent Federal Executive Council decision on the compulsory exchange of $200 for all tourists coming from Romania. Both sides presented in detail their own problems connected with this decision and concluded

that mutually satisfactory and adequate solutions should be sought at the level of the relevant government departments.

### Roman Ends Visit, Departs

*LD0905205890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman departed from Belgrade on 9 May after ending his one-day working visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic. His visit and talks with Yugoslav officials have laid, as it is assessed, new foundations for the two countries' relations in keeping with the political, social, and economic changes that have taken place in the two countries over the last few months.

Prime Minister Roman today also met with SFRY Presidency Vice President Borisav Jovic and Slobodan Milosevic, Presidency president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

### Drnovsek Says European Council Talks 'Favorable'

*LD0905194290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Strasbourg, May 9 (TANJUG)—Some high-ranking officials of the Council of Europe and some delegations of the organization's 23 member-states believe that Yugoslavia should be received as member in the Council of Europe as soon as possible, Yugoslav President Janez Drnovsek said in a talk with Yugoslav reporters in Strasbourg today [9 May].

Drnovsek estimated that Yugoslavia would become a full member of the Council of Europe in January or February next.

It is believed in Strasbourg that the reservations of individual countries regarding Yugoslavia's application for membership have largely been eliminated and a favourable climate created for speeding up the deliberation on the Yugoslav application.

Council officials and members of the parliamentary Assembly, whom Drnovsk Addressed at yesterday's [8 May] session, highly complimented Yugoslavia's economic policy and the dynamic pace of implementing reforms. They said they were particularly impressed by the complete curbing of inflation.

Drnovsek stressed that the calming of the situation in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo and a number of moves made by Yugoslav authorities in the fields of human rights and freedoms have contributed to the very favourable atmosphere of the Strasbourg dialogue.

Drnovsek said that any reservations remaining among the Council of Europe members concerning Yugoslavia's application stem from the Council's doubts as to when free multi-party elections, after the ones held recently in Slovenia and Croatia, will be held in the other [the] Yugoslav president said he was afraid that the deliberation of the Yugoslav application for full membership of the Council of Europe might be a protracted business, unless the Yugoslav political schedule should be met by the end of the current year.

### Commentary on Situation in Albania

*AU0905154890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 90 p 2*

[A.D. report: "Panic in the Nest of 'Eagles'"]

[Text] Whether Nexhmije Hoxha—so far the main personality behind Albania's doctrine—is really under arrest (as the Greek press reports) or under surveillance is difficult to say with any certainty. People defecting from Albania claim both. However, what is certain is that Nexhmije Hoxha is no longer the main personality in Albania and that she has been pulled from political life. While some refugees claim that Enver's widow was arrested together with her two sons, Sokol and Ilir, and that the main reason for their arrest was the widow's attempt to save herself from democracy and "go on vacation" to France or Libya with her sons, others claim that the stories about her removal are not true. Albanian Television allegedly showed pictures of the widow during the May Day holiday. However, not many people trust these pictures because Albania's television is known for fabricating events.

Those familiar with the situation in Albania say that one should not expect Nexhmije to appear before any court because Nexhmije is a dangerous protagonist and witness of various events. She is the one most knowledgeable about what Ramiz Alia did on the orders of the great leader Enver Hoxha. She is well acquainted with the liquidation of Mehmet Shehu and a group of some 80 people who disappeared in just this purge. Ramiz Alia can only isolate such a dangerous witness and not bring her to trial, because in this way things could not be kept away from the outside world. Nexhmije Hoxha, even if she were in prison, would be an obstacle for Ramiz Alia to remove his Stalinist suit of armor. It appears that he is trying to save himself by slackening the reins in the face of an onslaught from democracy everywhere in Europe, but his liabilities are too great and his chances to save himself too small. His hope is Peres de Cuellar's visit to Albania. This visit is the reason for extensive preparations there, and moving a local prison is part of these preparations. It has been learned that Spac prison has been moved to an unknown location.

Because of the visit by UN secretary general, Albania is now being embellished and decorated and people prepared so that the secretary general would have the impression that people here "live in democracy." Z. Skrelja, Dj. Sinistraj, and D. Elezovic, three former Yugoslav nationals brought from the United States by Sigurimi, will, among other things, have the task of briefing the secretary general during his visit to Albania on "the suffering of Albanians in Yugoslavia and Kosovo in particular."

While Albania is preparing to make a good impression on the UN general secretary, in line with the authorities' wishes, the people in Albania are not at rest.

We have unofficially learned that during last month, several attempts were made to destroy statues of Stalin and Enver Hoxha. The police dispersed the crowds and caught the culprits. Many are in prison. We know for sure that during the May Day holiday the citizens of Albania were prohibited from getting close to these statues. They were not allowed to come closer than 30 meters.

What happened to the Romanian leadership has greatly disturbed the Albanian leadership. People here say that this fear and panic are widely talked about in Tirana. This is also linked to the kidnapping of the man who sought political asylum in the Greek Embassy. People in Albania believe that he was not an ordinary man, but somebody important in Albania, which explains the unprecedented violation of the integrity of an embassy.

In any case, people in Albania think that the great wall will yield in the face of democracy.

### Defense Ministry on Italian Border Incident

*LD0905220290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2053 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, May 9 (TANJUG)—Investigation to date into an incident on the Yugoslav-Italian border, in which a Philippine national was killed and a Philippine woman wounded, has revealed that the border security organs did not in any way exceed their authority, spokesman for the Yugoslav Defence Ministry Dr Vuk Obradovic said in Belgrade today.

Eleven people (five Turks and six Filipinos) tried on April 30 to cross illegally into Italy from Yugoslavia at the Lipice border crossing. According to the official explanation, they refused to stop at the border guards' orders, so one of the guards opened fire, killing Philippine national Rex Katypan, 24, and wounding his compatriot Elerina Massa, 26.

The others were apprehended, the Yugoslav daily VERCERNJI LIST writes, and will soon be tried. The investigation continues, the Defence Ministry spokesman said.

In connection with the incident, the League of Communists of Croatia - Party of Democratic Changes (LCC-PDC) has sent a note of protest to the Presidency of Yugoslavia, demanding that the use of firearms in border areas be banned and proposing that jurisdiction along the border be transfered from the Yugoslav People's Army to the police.

Dr Obradovic described the demands as surprising, as [word indistinct] the LCC-PDC "on the side of the perpetrators of the offence of illegally crossing the border".